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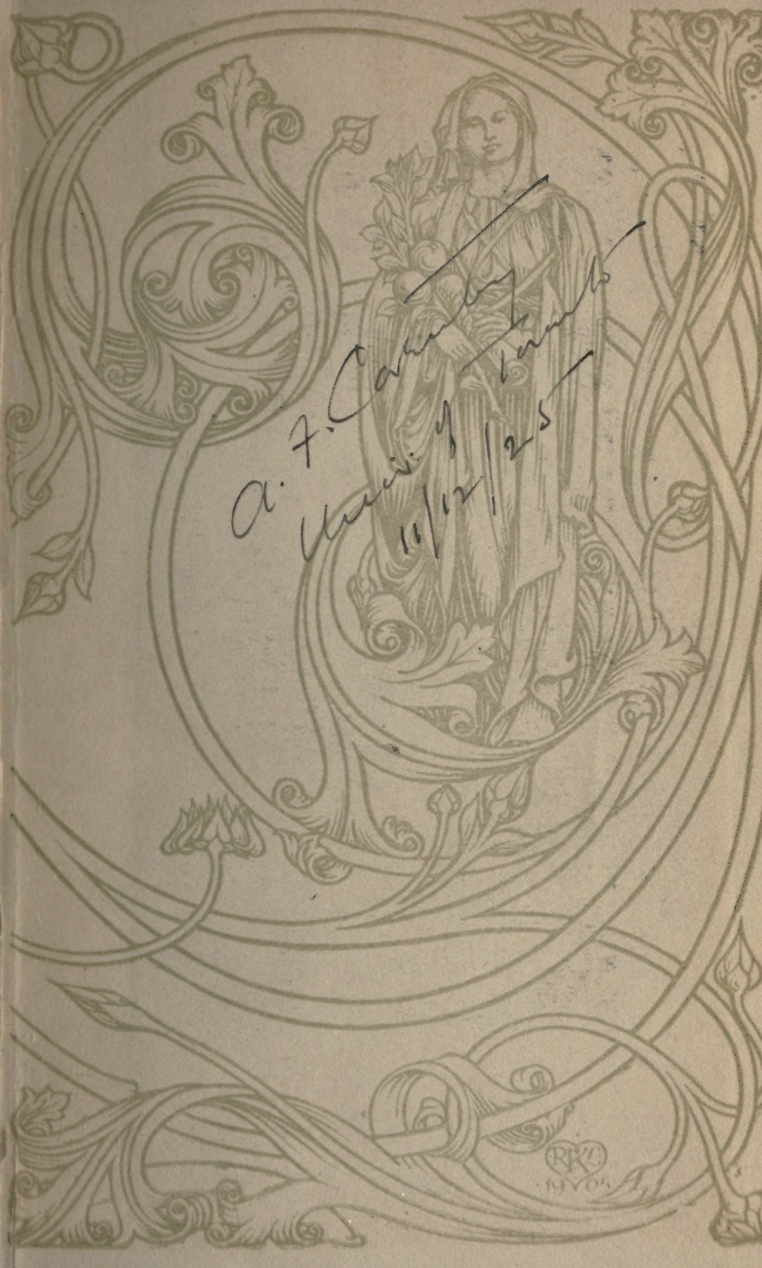
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PLUTARCH'S MORAL ESSAYS

WITH AN INTRODUCTION
BY E. H. BLAKENEY, M.A.

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PLUTARCH'S 'MORALIA' TWENTY & ESSAYS

Translated by

PHILEMON HOLLAND

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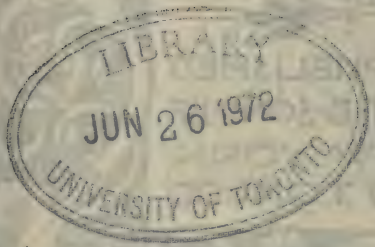

ERRATA

P. 140, lines 32 and 35, *for* "ὄπιχαιρεσκακία," *read* "ἐπιχαιρκακία."
P. 178, line 11, *for* "ἡδὺ μοὶ," *read* "ἡδύ μοι."
P. 306, line 21, *for* "ἔταῖρος," *read* "ἑταῖρος.
P. 64, note, *for* "και," *read* "καὶ."
P. 162, note, *for* "ρυφερήν," *read* "τρυφερήν."

INTRODUCTION

PHILEMON HOLLAND, designated (not inaptly) by Fuller as "the translator-generall of his age," was born at Chelmsford in 1552, the year of Spenser's birth, and twelve years before Shakespeare. He was educated at Chelmsford Grammar School, and at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he was a pupil of Whitgift, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. He not only took his degree of M.A., but, later in life, graduated M.D. As no record of this degree is to be found in the Oxford or Cambridge registers, it has been thought that it was conferred upon him either at a Scotch or Continental University.

Soon after taking his M.D., Holland settled at Coventry, which was to be his home till he died in 1637 (the year of Ben Jonson's death). His medical practice being small, he eked out his time and a somewhat precarious income by devoting himself to translations of the classics. The chief of these translations, published in vast folios that are nowadays somewhat scarce and difficult to procure, are: *Livy*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Pliny's Natural History*, *Suetonius*, and the *Morals of Plutarch*. The most popular of these versions was, perhaps, the Pliny, issued in two folios in 1601. The Plutarch was published two years later; twenty years after his death it was re-issued, in "a revised and corrected" form, we are told. Since then it has not been reprinted until now; the present volume is a selection from the moral essays of the popular Greek writer, whose *Parallel Lives*, as Englished by North, have become an English classic.

In the year 1608, Holland, already famous as a translator (even in an age of famous translations), became usher of the free school at Coventry; twenty years later he was appointed to the headmastership. He was an old man at the time of his appointment; and the duties—at any time irksome to a scholar of his parts—must have proved too exhausting. Whatever be the cause, he resigned the post at the end of ten months. The remainder of his life was clouded by pecuniary anxieties. The *res angusta domi* was, unhappily, no trifling nor temporary discomfort, aggravated as it was by failing health. It is, however, to be remarked that in 1632 a small

pension—a pittance, rather—was awarded him by the city he had served so well both in scholastic and civic capacities; and not long afterwards, in consideration of his "learning and worthy parts," he received some monetary assistance from Magdalene College, Cambridge. It was not creditable that his own college, "the royal and religious foundation" of Trinity, apparently made no provision for her distinguished "alumnus," despite his evident claims on her liberality.

Holland was, almost to the end, an indefatigable student. His contemporaries, prone to notice such trivialities, remarked (*inter alia*) that he never wore spectacles; and it was commonly reported that he wrote one of his folios with a single quill pen. His eyesight must have been extraordinarily good. There is a beautiful specimen, still preserved at Coventry, of his Greek caligraphy; and Baskerville—a fine judge in such matters—borrowed this when cutting the matrices for his famous fount of Greek type.

Holland's renderings are, in their own way, unique. "He had," says one writer, "a most admirable knack in translating books . . . several of the most obscure being translated by him, one of which was Plutarch's *Morals*." Pope, in the *Dunciad*, mentions the fine old Tudor writer only to gibe at the "weight" (in avoirdupois) of his huge folios—a just enough criticism, it is true, but apt to mislead the unwary reader. It was an age of huge folios; most of them do but cumber the shelves in our great public libraries, where they lie, undusted and unread. But the books of Philemon Holland deserve a better fate than to be ensepulchred in the untoward company of forgotten divines. They have a fine literary flavour about them; there is a spaciousness of diction, combined with a pomp of words, in their pages which arrests and charms those of us who have grown aweary of the smartness and trim perspicacity of the Macaulayesque tradition. "Construes" his renderings certainly are not; but they are translations in the best sense of the term; that is, they "carry over" the sense of the original into an alien language, not without a considerable—perhaps undue—heightening of effects. Of the severity and self-constraint of the Latin or Greek they have little trace; grave Roman and delicate Hellene appear, in his pages, tricked in the ruffles of the Elizabethan age. Holland has indeed transmuted the form of his original, and given it alike the spaciousness and the quaintness of a later and more elaborate epoch.

Let me take, by way of illustration, an example from Livy; I give first of all a literal rendering of the Latin, followed by Holland's version: the passage is from the celebrated twenty-first book, where the Roman historian gives us an unforgetable picture of Hannibal's crossing of the Alps.

"On the ninth day they reached the crest of the Alps by paths for the most part trackless, and by winding ways, caused either by the treachery of the guides, or, when these latter were distrusted, by rash entry into valleys on the part of men conjecturing as to the route. For two days fixed quarters were held on the ridge, and rest was allowed the soldiers wearied by toil and fighting; and a number of beasts of burden, which had fallen among the rocks, reached camp by following the footprints of the column. To men wearied with the fatigue of so many misfortunes, a fall of snow (for the Pleiades were now setting) brought fresh alarm. When, after the standards had been moved forward at dawn, the column was advancing over ground everywhere blocked with snow, and listlessness and despair were noticeable in the looks of all, Hannibal moved to the van; he bade his soldiers halt on a certain spur of rock, whence there was a view far and wide, and pointed out Italy and the plains about the Padus lying at the foot of the Alps; saying that they were crossing not only the walls of Italy, but the walls also of Rome. The rest of the journey would be straightforward, and downhill. By one, or at most two, battles, they would hold in their power and grip the citadel and capital of Italy."

This appears in Holland's version as follows:

"The ninth day he woon the verie tops of the Alpes, through by-lanes and blind cranks: after he had wandered many times out of the way, either through the deceitfulness of their guides, or for that, when they durst not trust them, they adventured rashly themselves upon the vallies, and guessed the way at adventure, and went by aime. Two days abode he encamped upon the tops thereof; and the soldiers, wearied with travaile and fight, rested that time: certain also of the sumpter horses (which had slipt aside from the rockes) by following the tracks of the armie as it marched, came to the campe. When they were thus over-toiled and wearied with these tedious travailes, the snow that fell—for now the starre Vergilie was set and gone downe out of that horizon—increased their feare exceedingly. Now wheneas at the breake of day the ensignes were set forward, and the army marched slowly, through the thicke and deepe snow; and that there appeared in the countenance of them all slouthfulness and desperation: Anniball advanced before the standerds, and commaunded his soldiours to stay upon a certaine high hill (from whence they had a goodly prospect and might see a great way all about them), and there showed unto them Italie, and the goodly champion fields about the Po, which lie hard under the foote of the Alpine mountains; saying, That even then they mounted the walls, not only of Italy but also of the citie of Rome; as for all besides (saith hee) will be plaine and easie to be travelled: and, after one or two battles at the most, ye shall have at your command the verie castle and head citie of all Italy."

Philemon Holland's knowledge of the classics, unlike that of North, who made his version through the proxy of Amyot's renderings, was accurate and thorough. But above all, his knowledge of his mother tongue was rare and consummate. "Have I not (he asks) Englished every word aptly?" There is but one answer; apt he was, not in rendering one author,

but in all that he attempted. He had a positive genius for style, the distinguished Tudor style, so full of music, so rich, so ardent. He has none of the "concinnity" (to use such a word) of the writers of a succeeding date; he produced his effects by means familiar enough to Jeremy Taylor, to Hooker, to Milton, but alien from the austerity of his models as from the fashion of essayists trained in the later French school.

Old Thomas Fuller, in discoursing upon Holland, declared "that the books alone of his turning into English will make a country gentleman a complete library for historians." Be that as it may—and the implied compliment has something of a double edge—we may safely accept the dictum of a just and clear-sighted modern critic[1] when he says: "Philemon Holland still remains the first translator of his age; and if the Bible is the Shakespeare of translation, then Philemon Holland is the ingenious Ben Jonson of a splendid craft."

Note on Plutarch

Curiously, little is known of the life of Plutarch, considering his fame both in ancient and modern times. The main facts appear to be as follows: He was born somewhere about A.D. 50, at Chæronea, in Bœotia. He studied at Athens under Ammonius, a philosopher of some distinction at the time, whose lectures and teaching gave a lasting bent to his pupil's mind; for Plutarch was nothing if not a moral philosopher. The aim of his life, as it has been justly said, was the illumination of mind by morality; even his biographies are ethical.

He travelled a little, visiting, among other places, Egypt. But it was with Italy, and Rome, that he became most familiar, and his sojourn in the great metropolis—where he gave lectures on philosophical questions—was, doubtless, a determining factor in his own intellectual life. At Rome he contracted a number of friendships, though his lack of acquaintance with Latin literature may have deprived him of the full value of such friendship, from the purely intellectual standpoint.

On returning to his native town Plutarch devoted himself not merely to writing biographies and essays, but to the active business of civic life, even in the circumscribed sphere in which

[1] Mr. Charles Whibley, in his Introduction to the reprint of Holland's *Suetonius* in the Tudor Translations Series (1899).

he found himself. It was no part of his duty, as he conceived it, to become the mere scholar-recluse; his ideal of civic virtue forbade it. The ethical side of his character was as pronounced in the practical, as in the contemplative, side of life. It is certain that his *Lives* would not have possessed the influence that they have assuredly exercised on men so widely different as Rabelais, Montaigne, Jeremy Taylor, Rousseau, and Shakespeare, had he allowed the high duties of an enlightened citizenship to remain unemployed. As it is, the *Lives* have had more influence on the modern world than almost any other book of classical antiquity.[1] Of Shakespeare's indebtedness to Plutarch little need be said; it is writ large in many of his historical plays, as every student is aware.

The *Moralia*, or "Morals," are less well known than these biographical portraits, but they are worthy of attention, if only for the admirable spirit which breathes through the sixty odd "essays" of which the collection is composed. The essay on Superstition (included in the present selection) is, says a good authority, "one of the most eloquent and closely-reasoned compositions of antiquity."[2] Though not a deep thinker, "the devout and cultured"[3] Plutarch was a man of rare gifts, with an encyclopædic range. We love him for his kindliness and his urbanity, his sincerity and his real goodness of heart. Professor Mahaffy has happily described him as "the spokesman of the better life that still survived in the Greek world," in the autumn of its history.[4]

As to the chronological order of his works, we are still greatly in the dark. Probably their composition was spread over a considerable period; none appear to have been written in early life. If we date the bulk of his essays as belonging to the years A.D. 90-110, we shall probably not be far astray. He died somewhere about A.D. 120.

E. H. BLAKENEY.

The King's School, Ely.
December 31, 1911.

[1] "As a literary art ancient biography reached its highest perfection in Plutarch's gallery of great men" (Bury, *Ancient Greek Historians*).

[2] *Cf.* Campbell, *Religion in Greek Literature*, p. 372; Taylor, *Ancient Ideals*, ii. 79; Bigg, *The Origins of Christianity*, pp. 133-135.

[3] H. M. Gwatkin, *Early Church History*, ii. 136.

[4] "To soften Paganism by a gentler philosophy of life, which approached Christianity, is the great speciality of Plutarch; and he idealised both ancient religion and ancient history" (Gregorovius, *The Emperor Hadrian*).

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The present edition is a reprint of Philemon Holland's, as published in 1603.

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NOTES

" Plutarch's teaching is too full of topical inconsistencies to be formalised into a system of Philosophy. But the dominating principle of his teaching, the paramount necessity of finding a sanction and an inspiration for conduct in what the wisdom of the past had already discovered, is so strikingly conspicuous in all his writings that his logical inconsistencies appear, and are, unimportant.

" It is this desire of making the wisdom and traditions of the past available for ethical usefulness which actuates his attempt to reconcile the contradictions, and remove the crudities and inconsistencies, in the three sources of religious knowledge—Philosophy, Law, Tradition. This is the principle which gives his teaching unity, and not any external circumstances of his life, or his attitude in favour of or in opposition to the tenets of any particular school."—OAKESMITH, *The Religion of Plutarch*, 1902.

ON THE ESSAY " OF SUPERSTITION "

" ' The profoundest, the most essential and paramount theme of human interest,' says Goethe, ' is the eternal conflict between Atheism and Superstition.' Plutarch's tract is a classical sermon on this text, although, in his presentment of the subject, the mutual antagonism of the two principles receives less emphasis than the hostility which both alike direct against the interests of true Religion. He has no sympathy with any notion similar to that current since his days, in many religious minds, that Superstition is but a mistaken form of Piety, deserving tenderness rather than reprehension; and he maintains that absolute disbelief in God is less mischievous in its effects upon human conduct and character than its opposite extreme of superstitious devotion."—OAKESMITH, *The Religion of Plutarch*, p. 179.

Bacon speaks similarly in his Essay on Superstition: " It were better to have no opinion of God at all than such an opinion as is unworthy of Him; " and quotes Plutarch in support of his dictum.

Cf. Harnack's paper, " Greek and Christian Piety," in the *Hibbert Journal* for October 1911.

PLUTARCH'S MORALS

OF MORAL VIRTUE

THE SUMMARY

[BEFORE he entereth into the discourse of virtues and vices, he treateth of moral virtue in general: propounding in the first place the diversity of opinions of philosophers as touching this point: the which he discusseth and examineth: Wherein after that he had begun to dispute concerning the composition of the soul, he adjoineth his own opinion touching that property which moral virtue hath particularly by itself, as also wherein it differeth from contemplative philosophy. Then having defined the mediocrity of this virtue, and declared the difference between continence and temperance, he speaketh of the impression of reason in the soul. And by this means addresseth himself against the Stoics, and disputeth concerning the affections of the soul: proving the inequality therein, with such a refutation of the contrary objections, that after he had taught how the reasonless part of the soul ought to be managed, he discovereth by divers similitudes and reasons, the absurdities of the said Stoic philosophers, who, instead of well governing and ruling the soul of man, have as much as lieth in them, extinguished and abolished the same.]

MY purpose is to treat of that virtue which is both called and also reputed moral, and namely wherein it differeth especially from virtue contemplative: as having for the subject matter thereof the passions of the mind, and for the form, reason: Likewise of what nature and substance it is; as also, how it doth subsist and hath the being: to wit, whether that part of the soul which is capable of the said virtue be endued and adorned with reason as appropriate and peculiar unto it; or, whether it borrow it from other parts, and so receiving it, be like unto things mingled, and adhering to the better: or rather, for that being under the government and rule of another, it be said to participate the power and puissance of that which commendeth it? For, that virtue also may subsist and have an essential being, without any subject matter and mixture at all, I suppose it is very evident and apparent. But first and foremost, I hold

it very expedient briefly to run through the opinions of other philosophers, not so much by way of an historical narration and so an end, as that when they be once shewed and laid abroad, our opinion may both appear more plainly, and also be held more surely.

Menedemus, then, who was born in the city Eretria, abolished all plurality and difference of virtues, supposing that there was but one only virtue, and the same known by sundry names: For he said, that it was but one and the same thing which men called temperance, fortitude, and justice: like as if one should say, A reasonable creature and a man, he meaneth the selfsame thing. As for Ariston, the Chian, he was of opinion likewise, that in substance there was no more but one virtue, the which he termed by the name of health: marry, in some divers respects, there were many virtues, and those different one from another: as namely, for example, if a man should call our eyesight, when it beholdeth white things, *leucothea:* when it seeth black, *melanthie:* and so likewise in other matters. For virtue (quoth he), which concerneth and considereth what we ought either to do or not to do, beareth the name of prudence: when it ruleth and ordereth our lust or concupiscence, limiting out a certain measure and lawful proportion of time unto pleasures, it is called temperance: if it intermeddle with the commerce, contracts, and negotiation between man and man, then it is named justice: like as (to make it more plain) a knife is the same still, although it cut, now one thing and then another: and the fire, notwithstanding it worketh upon sundry matters, yet it remaineth always of one and the same nature. It seemeth also, that Zeno, the Citean, inclined in some sort to this opinion, who in defining prudence, saith, that when it doth distribute to every man his own, it ought to be called justice; when it is occupied in objects either to be chosen or avoided, then it is temperance; and in bearing or suffering, it should be named fortitude.

Now, they that defend and maintain this opinion of Zeno, affirm that by prudence he understandeth science or knowledge. But Chrysippus, who was of this mind, that each virtue had a peculiar quality, and according to it, ought to be defined and set down, wist not how (ere he was aware) he brought into philosophy, and as Plato saith, raised a swarm of virtues never known before, and wherewith the schools had not been acquainted. For like as of valiant he derived valour, of just, justice, of clement, clemency: so also of gracious he comes in

with gratiosity, of good, goodness, of great, greatness, of honest, honesty, and all other such-like dexterities, affabilities, and courtesies, he termed by the name of virtues, and so pestered philosophy with new, strange, and absurd words, more iwis than was needful.

Now these philosophers agree jointly all in this, that they set down virtue to be a certain disposition and power of the principal part of the soul, acquired by reason: or rather, that it is reason itself: and this they suppose as a truth confessed, certain, firm, and irrefragable. They hold also that the part of the soul subject to passions, sensual, brutish, and unreasonable, differeth not from reason by any essential difference, or by nature: but they imagine that the very part and substance of the soul which they call understanding, reason, and the principal part, being wholly turned and changed, as well in sudden passions, as alterations by habitude and disposition, becometh either vice or virtue, and in itself hath no brutishness at all: but is named only unreasonable, according as the motion of the appetite and lust is so powerful that it becometh mistress, and by that means she is driven and carried forcibly to some dishonest and absurd course, contrary to the judgment of reason: For they would have that very motion or passion itself to be reason, howbeit depraved and naught, as taking her force and strength from false and perverse judgment.

Howbeit, all these (as it may seem) were ignorant of this one point; namely, that each one of us (to speak truly) is double and compound: And as for one of these duplicities, they never thoroughly saw; that only which is of the twain more evident, to wit, the mixture or composition of the soul and body they acknowledge. And yet, that there is besides a certain duplicity in the soul itself, which consisteth of two divers and different natures: and namely, that the brutish and reasonless part, in manner of another body, is combined and knit into reason by a certain natural link of necessity: It seemeth that Pythagoras himself was not ignorant: And this we may undoubtedly gather and conjecture by his great diligence which he employed in that music and harmony which he inferred for the dulcing, taming, and appeasing of the soul: as knowing full well that all the parts thereof were not obedient and subject to instruction, learning, and discipline, nor yet such as might by reason be altered and trained from vice to virtue: but required some other kind of persuasive power co-operative with it, for to frame the same and make it gentle and tractable: for otherwise it would be

hardly or never conquered by philosophy, and brought within the compass of obedience; so obstinate and rebellious it is.

And Plato verily was of this opinion (which he professed openly, and held as a firm and undoubted truth), that the soul of this universal world is not simple, uniform, and uncompounded, but mixed (as it were) of a certain power of identity [1] and of diversity. For after one sort it is governed and turned about continually in an uniform manner by means of one and the same order, which is powerful and predominant over all: and after another sort again, it is divided into circles, spheres, and motions, wandering and contrary in manner to the other: whereupon dependeth the beginning of diversity in generation of all things in the earth. Semblably (quoth he) the soul of man, being a part and portion of that universal soul of the world, composed likewise of proportions and numbers answerable to the other, is not simple and of one nature or affection, but one part thereof is more spiritual, intelligible, and reasonable, which ought of right and according to nature have the sovereignty and command in man: the other is brutish, sensual, erroneous, and disorderly of itself, requiring the direction and guidance of another. Now, this is subdivided again into other two parts; whereof the one is always called corporal or vegetative; the other *thymocides*, as one would say, irascible and concupiscible; which one while doth adhere and stick close to the foresaid gross and corporal portion: and otherwhiles to the more pure and spiritual part, which is the discourse of reason; unto which, according as it doth frame and apply itself, it giveth strength and vigour thereto. Now the difference between the one and the other may be known principally by the fight and resistance that oftentimes is between understanding and reason on the one side, and the concupiscence and wrathful part on the other; which sheweth that these other faculties are often disobedient and repugnant to the best part.

And verily, Aristotle used these principles and grounds especially above all others at the first, as appeareth by his writings: but afterwards, he attributed the irascible part unto the concupiscible, confounding them both together in one, as if ire were a concupiscence or desire of revenge. Howbeit, this he always held to the very end, that the brutish and sensual part, which is subject unto passions, was wholly and ever distinct from the intellectual part, which is the same that reason: not that it is fully deprived of reason, as is that corporal and gross part

[1] *i.e.* the same.

of the soul, to wit, whereby we have sense only common with beasts, and whereby we are nourished as plants. But whereas, this being surd and deaf, and altogether incapable of reason, doth after a sort proceed and spring from the flesh, and always cleave unto the body: the other sensual part which is so subject unto passions, although it be in itself destitute of reason, as a thing proper unto it: yet nevertheless apt and fit it is to hear and obey the understanding and discoursing part of the mind; insomuch as it will turn unto it, suffer itself to be ranged and ordered according to the rules and precepts thereof; unless it be utterly spoiled and corrupted, either by blind and foolish pleasure, or else by a loose and intemperate course of life. As for them that make a wonder at this, and do not conceive how that part being in some sort brutish and unreasonable, may yet be obedient unto reason, they seem unto me as if they did not well comprehend the might and power of reason: namely, how great it is, and forcible, or how far forth it may pierce and pass in command, guidance, and direction; not by way of rough, churlish, violent, and irregular courses, but by fair and formal means, which are able to do more by gentle inducements and persuasions than all the necessary constraints and enforcements in the world. That this is so, it appeareth by the breath, spirits, sinews, bones, and other parts of the body, which be altogether void of reason: howbeit, so soon as there ariseth any motion of the will, which shaketh (as it were) the reins of reason never so little, all of them keep their order, they agree together, and yield obedience. As for example, if the mind and will be disposed to run, the feet are quickly stretched out and ready for a course; the hands likewise settle to their business, if there be a motion of the mind either to throw, or take hold of anything. And verily, the poet Homer most excellently expresseth the sympathy and conformity of this brutish part of the soul unto reason in these verses:

Thus wept the chaste Penelope,
  And drench'd her lovely face
With dreary tears, which from her eyes
  Ran trickling down apace
For tender heart, bewailing sore
  The loss of husband dear,
Ulysses hight, who was in place
  Set by her side full near.
And he himself in soul, no less,
  Did pity for to see
His best beloved thus to weep;
  But wise and crafty he

Kept in his tears: for why
His eyes within the lids were set
As stiff as iron and sturdy horn,
One drop would they not shed.

In such obedience to the judgment of reason he had his breath, spirits, his blood and his tears. An evident proof hereof is to be seen in those whose flesh doth rise upon the first sight of fair and beautiful persons: for no sooner doth reason or law forbid to come near and touch them, but presently the same falleth, lieth down, and is quiet again without any stirring or panting at all. A thing very ordinary and most commonly perceived in those who be enamoured upon fair women, not knowing at first who they were: For so soon as they perceive afterwards that they be their own sisters or daughters, their lust presently cooleth, by means of reason that toucheth it and interposeth itself between: so that the body keepeth all the members thereof decently in order, and obedient to the judgment of the said reason. Moreover, it falleth out oftentimes that we eat with a good stomach and great pleasure certain meats and viands before we know what they are; but after we understand and perceive once that we have taken either that which was unclean or unlawful and forbidden: not only in our judgment and understanding we find trouble and offence thereby; but also our bodily faculties agreeing to our opinion are dismayed thereat: so that anon there ensue vomits, sick qualms, and overturnings of the stomach, which disquiet all the whole frame.

And were it not that I greatly feared to be thought of purpose to gather and insert in my discourse such pleasant and youthful inducements, I could infer in this place psalteries, lutes, harps, pipes, flutes, and other like musical instruments, how they are devised by Art for to accord and frame with human passions: for notwithstanding they be altogether without life, yet they cease not to apply themselves unto us, and the judgment of our minds, lamenting, singing, and wantonly disporting together with us, resembling both the turbulent passions, and also the mild affections and dispositions of those that play upon them. And yet verily it is reported also of Zeno himself, that he went one day to the theatre for to hear the musician Amæbeus, who sung unto the harp: saying unto his scholars, Let us go, sirs, and learn what harmony and music the entrails of beasts, their sinews and bones: Let us see (I say) what resonance and melody bare wood may yield, being disposed by numbers, proportions, and order.

But leaving these examples, I would gladly demand and ask of them if when they see dogs, horses, and birds, which we nourish and keep in our houses, brought to that pass by use, feeding, and teaching, that they learn to render sensible words, to perform certain motions, gestures, and divers feats, both pleasant and profitable unto us; and likewise, when they read in Homer how Achilles encouraged to battle both horse and man; they do marvel still and make doubt, whether that part and faculty in us, whereby we are angry, do lust, joy, or grieve, be of that nature that it can well obey reason, and be so affected and disposed thereby that it may give assent thereto: considering especially that it is not seated or lodged without, nor separated from us, nor yet framed by anything which is not in us: no, nor shapen by forcible means and constraint, to wit, by mould, stroke of hammer, or any such thing; but as it is fitted and forged by nature, so it keepeth to her, is conversant with her, and finally perfected and accomplished by custom and continuance. Which is the reason that very properly manners be called in Greek by the name ἤθος, to give us to understand that they are nothing else (to speak plainly and after a gross manner) but a certain quality imprinted by long continuance of time in that part of the soul which of itself is unreasonable: and is named ἦθος, for that the said reasonless part framed by reason taketh this quality or difference (call it whether you will) by the means of long time and custom, which they term ἦθος.

For reason is not willing to root out quite all passions (which were neither possible nor expedient), but only it doth limit them within certain bounds, and setteth down a kind of order: and thus after a sort causeth moral virtues not to be impassibilities, but rather mediocrities and regularities, or moderations of our affections: and this it doth by the means of prudence and wisdom, which reduceth the power of this sensual and pathetical part unto a civil and honest habitude. For these three things (they say) are in the soul of man, to wit, a natural puissance or faculty, a passion or motion, and also an habitude. Now the said faculty or power is the very beginning, and (as a man would say) the matter of passions, to wit, the power or aptness to be angry, to be ashamed, or to be confident and bold. The passion is the actual moving of the said power: namely, anger itself, shame, confidence or boldness. The habitude is a settled and confirmed strength established in the sensual or unreasonable part by continual use and custom: which if the passions be ill governed by reason, becometh to be a vice: and contrariwise,

a virtue; in case the same be well ordered and directed thereby. Moreover, forasmuch as philosophers do not hold and affirm, that every virtue is a mediocrity nor call it moral: to the end, therefore, that we may the better declare and shew the difference, we had need to fetch the beginning of this discourse farther off.

Of all things then that be in the world, some have their essence and being of themselves absolutely and simply; others respectively and in relation to us. Absolutely have their being the earth, the heaven, the stars, and the sea; respectively and in regard of us, good, evil, profitable, hurtful, pleasant, and displeasant. Now, it being so, that reason doth contemplate and behold the one sort as well as the other: the former rank of those things which are simply and absolutely so, pertain unto science and speculation, as their proper objects; the second kind of those things which are understood by reference and regard unto us, pertain properly unto consultation and action. And as the virtue of the former sort is called sapience: so the virtue of the other is named prudence. For a difference there is between prudence and sapience: in this, that prudence consisteth in a certain relation and application of the contemplative faculty of the soul unto action, and unto the regiment of the sensual part according to reason: by which occasion prudence had need of the assistance of fortune: whereas sapience hath nothing to do with it, no more than it hath need of consultation, for to attain and reach unto the end it aimeth at. For that indeed it concerneth such things as be ever one and always of the same sort.

And like as the geometrician never consulteth as touching a triangle, to wit, whether it hath three angles equal to twain that be right or no? because he knoweth assuredly that it hath (for all consultations are concerning things that vary and alter sometime after one sort, and otherwhiles after another, and never meddleth with those that be firm, stable, and immutable), even so, the understanding and contemplative faculty of the mind, exercising her functions in those first and principal things which be permanent, and have evermore the same nature, not capable of change or mutation, is sequestered and exempt altogether from consultation. But prudence, which descendeth to things full of variety, error, trouble, and confusion, must of necessity eftsoons intermeddle with casualties, and use deliberation in things more doubtful and uncertain: yea, and after it hath consulted to proceed unto action, calling and drawing unto it the reasonless part also to be assistant and present, as drawn into the judgment of things to be executed. For need those

actions have of a certain instinct and motion to set them forward, which this moral habitude doth make in each passion, and the same instinct requireth likewise the assistance of reason to limit it that it may be moderate, to the end that it neither exceed the mean, nor come short and be defective: for that it cannot be chosen but this brutish and passible part hath motions in it; some over-vehement, quick and sudden, others as slow again, and more slack than is meet. Which is the reason that our actions cannot be good but after one manner: whereas, they may be evil after divers sorts: like as a man cannot hit the mark but one way: marry, he may miss sundry ways, either by overshooting or coming short.

The part and duty, then, of that active faculty of reason according to nature, is to cut off and take away all those excessive or defective passions, and to reduce them unto a mediocrity. For whereas the said instinct or motion, either by infirmity, effeminate delicacy, fear, or slothfulness, doth fail and come short of duty and the end required, there active reason is present, ready to rouse, excite, and stir up the same. Again, on the other side, when it runneth on end beyond all measure, after a dissolute and disorderly manner, there reason is pressed to abridge that which is too much, and to repress and stay the same: thus ruling and restraining these pathetical motions, it breedeth in man these moral virtues whereof we speak, imprinting them in that reasonless part of the mind: and no other they are than a mean between excess and defect.

Neither must we think that all virtues do consist in a mediocrity: for sapience or wisdom, which stand in no need at all of the brutish and unreasonable part, and consist only in the pure and sincere intelligence and discourse of understanding, and not subject to all passions, is the very height and excellency of reason, perfect and absolute of itself: a full and accomplished power (I say) wherein is engendered that most divine, heavenly, and happy knowledge. But moral virtue, which savoureth somewhat of the earth, by reason of the necessities of our body, and in which regard it standeth in need of the instrumental ministry of the pathetical part, for to work and perform her operations, being in no wise the corruption or abolition of the sensual and unreasonable part of the soul, but rather the order, moderation and embellishment thereof, is the extremity and height of excellence, in respect of the faculty and quality: but considering the quantity is rather a mediocrity, taking away the excess on the one side and the defect on the other.

But now, forasmuch as this term of mean or mediocrity may be understood diverse ways, we are to set down what kind of mean this moral virtue is. First and foremost, therefore, whereas there is one mean compounded of two simple extremes, as a russet or brown colour between white and black: also that which containeth and is contained must needs be the middest between the thing that doth contain and is contained, as for example, the number of 8 is just between 12 and 4, like as that which taketh no part at all of either extreme, as namely, those things which we call *adiaphora*, indifferent, and do partake neither good nor ill: In none of these significations or senses can this virtue be called a mean or mediocrity. For surely it may not be in any wise a composition or mixture of two vices which be both worse: neither doth it comprehend the less and defective: or is comprehended of that which is overmuch above decency and excessive, nor yet is it altogether void of passions and perturbations, subject to excess and defect, to more and less than is meet. But this moral virtue of ours, as it is indeed, so also it is called a mean, especially in respect of that mediocrity which is observed in the harmony and accord of sounds. For like as in music there is a note or sound called the mean, for that it is the middes between the base and treble, which in Greek be called *hypate* and *nete*, and lieth just betwixt the height and loudness of the one and the lowness or baseness of the other: Even so, moral virtue being a motion and faculty about the unreasonable part of the soul, tempereth the remission and intention, and in one word, taketh away the excess and defect of the passions, reducing each of them to a certain mediocrity and moderation that falleth not on any side.

Now, to begin with fortitude, they say it is the mean between cowardice and rash audacity, of which twain the one is a defect, the other an excess of the ireful passion. Liberality, between niggardise and prodigality; clemency and mildness, between senseless indolence and cruelty; justice, the mean of giving more or less than due, in contracts and affairs between men: like as temperance, a mediocrity between the blockish stupidity of the mind moved with no touch of pleasure, and an unbridled looseness whereby it is abandoned to all sensuality.

Wherein especially and most clearly is given us to understand and see the difference between the brutish and the reasonable part of the soul: and thereby evident it is that wandering passions be one thing and reason another: for otherwise we should not discern continency from temperance, nor incon-

tinency from intemperance, in pleasure and lusts, if that faculty of the mind whereby we judge, and that whereby we covet and desire were all one and the same; but now, temperance is, when reason is able to manage, handle and govern the sensual and passionate part (as if it were a beast brought up by hand and made tame and gentle, so as it will be ready to obey it in all desires and lusts, yea, and willing to receive the bit), whereas continency is when reason doth rule and command concupiscence as being the stronger, and leadeth it, but not without some pains and trouble thereof, for that it is not willing to shew obedience, but striveth, flingeth out sidelong, and goeth crossed, insomuch as it hath enough to do for to master it with stripes of the cudgel, and with hard bits of the bridle to hold it in and restrain it, whiles it resisteth all that ever it may, and putteth reason to much agony, trouble and travail: which Plato doth lively represent unto us by a proper similitude, saying that there be two draught beasts which draw the chariot of our souls, whereof the worst doth both wince and strive against the other fellow in the same yoke, and also troubleth the coachman or charioteer, who hath the conduct of them; putting him to his shifts that he is fain always to pull in and hold his head hard, otherwhiles glad to let him slack and give him the head for fear, as Simonides saith:

> Lest that his purple reins full soon
> Out of his hands should slip anon.

Thus you see what the reason is, why they do not vouchsafe continency the name of a perfect virtue in itself, but think it to be less than virtue. For there is not in it a certain mediocrity arising from the symphony and accord of the worse with the better: neither is the excess of passion cut away, nor yet doth the appetite yield itself obedient and agreeable to reason: but doth trouble and vex, and is troubled and vexed reciprocally, being kept down perforce and by constraint; like as in a seditious state, both parties at discord, intending mischief and war one against another, dwell together within the precinct of one wall: insomuch as the soul of a continent person for the fight and variance between reason and appetite, may aptly be compared, as Sophocles saith, unto a city,

> Which at one time is full of incense sweet,
> Resounding mirth with loud triumphant song,
> And yet the same doth yield in every street
> All signs of grief, with plaints and groans among.

And hereupon it is also that they hold incontinency to be

less than vice: marry, intemperance they will have to be a full and complete vice indeed: For that in it as the affection is ill, so the reason also is corrupt and depraved: and as by the one it is incited and led to the appetite of filthiness and dishonesty, so by the other through perverse judgment it is induced to give consent unto dishonest lusts, and withal groweth to be senseless and hath no feeling at all of sins and faults which it committeth: whereas incontinency retaineth still a right and sound judgment by means of reason: Howbeit, through the vehement and violent passion which is stronger than reason, it is carried away against the own judgment. Moreover, in these respects, it differeth from intemperance: For that the reason of the incontinent person is overmatched with passion; but of the other, it doth not so much as enter combat therewith. He, albeit he contradict, gainsay, and strive a while, yet in the end yieldeth unto lusts and followeth them; but the intemperate man is led thereby, and at the first giveth consent and approveth thereof.

Again, the intemperate person is well content, and taketh joy in having sinned: whereas the other is presently grieved thereat. Again, he runneth willingly and of his own accord to commit sin and villainy; but the incontinent man, maugre and full against his mind, doth abandon honesty. And as there is this distinct difference plainly seen in their deeds and actions, so there is no less to be observed in their words and speeches. For the sayings ordinarily of the intemperate person be these and such-like:

> What mirth in life, what pleasure, what delight,
> Without content in sports of Venus bright?
> Were those joys past, and I for them unmeet,
> Ring out my knell, bring forth my winding sheet.

Another saith:

> To eat, to drink, to wench, are principal,
> All pleasures else, I accessories call.

As if with all his heart and soul he were wholly given to a voluptuous life, yea, and overwhelmed therewith. And no less than those, he also who hath these words in his mouth:

> Now suffer me to perish by and by,
> It pleaseth, nay, it booteth me to die,

speaketh as one whose appetite and judgment both were out of order and diseased. But the speeches of incontinent persons be in another key and far different: for one saith:

> My mind is good and thither doth sway,
> My nature bad, and puts it away.

Another:

> Alas, alas, to see how gods above
> Have sent to men on earth this misery,
> To know their good, and that which they should love,
> Yet wanting grace, to do the contrary!

And a third:

> Now plucks, now hales, of deadly ire a fire:
> But surely, hold my reason can no more:
> Than anchor flouke stay ship from being split,
> When grounded 'tis on sands near to the shore.

He nameth not unproperly and without good grace the fluke of an anchor resting lightly upon the loose sand, to signify the feeble hold that reason hath which is not resolute and firmly seated, but through the weakness and delicacy of the soul, rejecteth and forsaketh judgment: And not much unlike hereunto is this comparison also that another maketh in a contrary sense:

> Much like a ship which fastened is to land
> With cordage strong, whereof we may be bold,
> The winds do blow, and yet she doth withstand
> And check them all, her cables take such hold.

He termeth the judgment of reason, when it resisteth a dishonest act, by the name of cable and cordage; which notwithstanding afterwards may be broken by the violence of some passion (as it were) with the continual gales of a blustering wind. For to say a very truth, the intemperate person is by his lusts and desires carried with full sail to his pleasures; he giveth himself thereto, and thither directeth his whole course: but the incontinent person tendeth thither also: howbeit (as a man would say) crookedly and not directly, as one desirous and endeavouring to withdraw himself, and to repel the passion that draweth and moveth him to it, yet in the end he also slideth and falleth into some foul and dishonest act: Like as Timon, by way of biting scoff, traduced and reproved Anaxarchus in this wise:

> Here shews itself the dogged force of Anaxarchus fell,
> So stubborn and so permanent, when once he took a pitch:
> And yet as wise as he would seem, a wretch (I heard folk tell)
> He judged was: for that to vice and pleasures overmich
> By nature prone he was: a thing that sages most do shun,
> Which brought him back out of the way, and made him dote anon.

For neither is a wise sage properly called continent, but temperate; nor a fool incontinent, but intemperate: because the one taketh pleasure and delight in good and honest things; and

the other is not offended nor displeased with foul and dishonest actions. And therefore incontinency resembleth properly a mind (as I may so say) sophistical, which hath some use of reason, but the same so weak that it is not able to persevere and continue firm in that which it hath once known and judged to be right.

Thus you may see the differences between intemperance and incontinency: As for continency and temperance, they differ also in certain respects correspondent in some proportion unto those on the contrary side. For remorse, sorrow, displeasure, and indignation do not as yet abandon and quit continence: whereas in the mind of a temperate person all lieth plain and even on every side; nothing there but quietness and integrity; in such sort, as whosoever seeth the great obeisance and the marvellous tranquillity whereby the reasonless part is united and incorporate together with the reasonable, might well say:

> And then anon the winds were down,
> A calm ensued straightway:
> No waves were seen, some power divine
> The sea asleep did lay;

namely, when reason had once extinguished the excessive, furious, and raging motions of the lusts and desires. And yet these affections and passions which of necessity nature hath need of, the same hath reason made so agreeable, so obeisant, so friendly and co-operative, yea, and ready to second all good intentions and purposes ready to be executed, that they neither run before it nor come dragging behind; nor yet behave themselves disorderly, no, nor shew the least disobedience: so as each appetite is ruled by reason, and willingly accompanieth it,

> Like as the sucking foal doth go
> And run with dam, both to and fro.

The which confirmeth the saying of Xenocrates, touching those who earnestly study philosophy, and practise it: For they only (quoth he) do that willingly which others do perforce and for dread of the law, who forbear indeed to satisfy their pleasures, and turn back, as if they were scared from them for fear of being bitten of some curst mastiff or shrewd cat, regarding nothing else but danger that may ensue thereupon.

Now, that there is in the soul a sense and perceivance of that strength, firmity, and resolution to encounter sinful lusts and desires, as if it had a power to strive and make head again, it is very plain and evident: howbeit, some there be who hold and maintain that passion is nothing different from reason: neither

(by their saying) is there in the mind a dissension or sedition (as it were) of two divers faculties; but all the trouble that we feel is no more but an alteration or change of one and the self-same thing, to wit, reason both ways, which we ourselves are not able to perceive, for that forsooth it changeth suddenly and with such celerity: never considering all the while that the same faculty of the mind is framed by nature to concupiscence and repentance both: to be angry and to fear: inclined to commit some foul and dishonest fact, by the allurement of pleasure, and contrariwise restrained from the same for fear of pain. As for lust, fear, and all such-like passions, they are no other (say they) but perverse opinions and corrupt judgments not arising and engendered in any one part of the soul by itself, but spread over that which is the chief and principal, to wit, reason and understanding: whereof they be the inclinations, assensions, motions, and in one word, certain operations which in the turning of a hand be apt to change and pass from one to another: much like unto the sudden braids, starts and runnings to and fro of little children, which how violent soever they be and vehement, yet by reason of their weakness are but slippery, unsteadfast and unconstant.

But these assertions and oppositions of theirs are checked and refuted by apparent evidence and common sense: For what man is he that ever felt in himself a change of his lust and concupiscence into judgment: and contrariwise an alteration of his judgment into lust: neither doth the wanton lover cease to love when he doth reason with himself and conclude that such love is to be repressed, and that he ought to strive and fight against it: neither doth he then give over reasoning and judging, when being overcome through weakness, he yieldeth himself prisoner and thrall to lust: but like as when by advertisement of reason he doth resist in some sort a passion arising, yet the same doth still tempt him: so likewise, when he is conquered and overcome therewith, by the light of the same reason at that very instant, he seeth and knoweth that he sinneth and doth amiss: so that neither by those perturbations is reason lost and abolished; nor yet by reason is he freed and delivered from them; but whiles he is tossed thus to and fro he remaineth a neuter in the midst, or rather participating in common of them both.

As for those who are of opinion that one while the principal part of our soul is lust and concupiscence: and then anon that it doth resist and stand against the same: are much like unto them who imagine and say that the hunter and the wild beast

be not twain, but one body, changing itself, one while into the form of a hunter, and another time taking the shape of a savage beast: For both they in a manifest and apparent matter should seem to be blind and see nothing: and also these bear witness and depose against their own sense, considering that they find and feel in themselves really not a mutation or change of one only thing, but a sensible strife and fight of two things together with them.

But here they come upon us again and object in this wise. How cometh it to pass then (say they) that the power and faculty in man which doth deliberate and consult is not likewise double (being oftentimes distracted, carried, and drawn to contrary opinions, as it is, namely, touching that which is profitable and expedient), but is one still and the same? True, we must confess, that divided it seemeth to be: But this comparison doth not hold, neither is the event and effect alike: for that part of our soul wherein prudence and reason is seated fighteth not with itself, but using the help of one and the same faculty, it handleth divers arguments, or rather, being but one power of discoursing, it is employed in sundry subjects and matters different: which is the reason that there is no dolour and grief at one end of those reasonings and discourses which are without passion; neither are they that consult forced (as it were) to hold one of those contrary parts against their mind and judgment; unless peradventure it so fall out that some affection lie close to one part or other, as if a man should secretly and underhand lay somewhat besides in one of the balances or scales against reason for to weigh it down. A thing (I assure you) that many times falleth out: and then it is not reason that is poised against reason; but either ambition, emulation, favour, jealousy, fear, or some secret passion, making semblance as if in shew of speeches, two reasons were at variance and differed one from another. As may appear by these verses in Homer:

> They thought it shame the combat to reject,
> And yet for fear they durst not it accept.

Likewise in another poet:

> To suffer death is dolorous,
> Though with renown it meet:
> Death to avoid is cowardice:
> But yet our life is sweet.

And verily in determining of controversies between man and man in their contracts and suits of law, these passions coming

betweenare they that make the longest delays, and be the greatest enemies of expedition and despatch: like as in the counsels of kings and princes, they that speak in favour of one party and for to win grace, do not upon any reason of two sentences incline to the one, but they accommodate themselves to their affection, even against the regard of utility and profit.

And this is the cause that in those states which be called aristocraties, that is to say, governed by a senate or counsel of the greatest men, the magistrates who sit in judgment will not suffer orators and advocates at the Bar to move affections in all their pleas: for in truth, let not the discourse of reason be impeached and hindered by some passion, it will of itself tend directly to that which is good and just. But in case there do arise a passion between, to cross the same, then you shall see pleasure and displeasure to raise a combat and dissension, to encounter that which by consultation would have been judged and determined. For otherwise, how cometh it to pass that in philosophical discourses and disputations a man shall never see it otherwise, but that without any dolour and grief, some are turned and drawn oftentimes by others into their opinions, and subscribe thereto willingly? Nay, even Aristotle himself, Democritus also and Chrysippus, have been known to retract and recant some points which beforetime they held, and that without any trouble of mind, without grief and remorse, but rather with pleasure and contentment of heart: because in that speculative or contemplative part of the soul, which is given to knowledge and learning only, there reign no passions to make resistance, insomuch as the brutish part being quiet and at repose, loveth not curiously to intermeddle in these and such-like matters: By which means it happeneth that the reason hath no sooner a sight of truth but willingly it inclineth thereto, and doth reject untruth and falsity: for that there lieth in it and in no other part else, that power and faculty to believe and give assent one way, as also to be persuaded for to alter opinion and go another way. Whereas, contrariwise, the counsels and deliberations of worldly affairs, judgments also, and arbitraments, being for the most part full of passions, make the way somewhat difficult for reason to pass, and put her to much trouble. For in these cases the sensual and unreasonable part of the soul is ready to stay and stop her course; yea, and to fright her from going forward, meeting her either with the object of pleasure, or else casting in her way stumbling-blocks of fear, of pain, of lusts and desires.

And verily the deciding and judgment of this disputation lieth in the sense, which feeleth as well the one as the other, and is touched with them both: For say that the one doth surmount and hath the victory, it doth not therefore defeat utterly and destroy the other; but drawn it is thereto perforce, and making resistance the while. As for example, the wanton and amorous person, when he checketh and reproveth himself therefore, useth the discourse of reason against the said passion of his; yet so as having them both actually subsisting together in the soul: much like as if with his hand he repressed and kept down the one part, inflamed with a hot fit of passion, and yet feeling within himself both parts, and those actually in combat one against the other. Contrariwise, in those consultations, disputes, and inquisitions which are not passionate, and wherein these motions of the brutish part have nothing to do, such I mean as those be especially of the contemplative part of the soul: if they be equal and so continue, there ensueth no determinate judgment and resolution: but a doubt remaineth, as if it were a certain pause or stay of the understanding, not able to proceed farther, but abiding in suspense between two contrary opinions. Now if it chance to incline unto one of them, it is because the mightier hath overweighed the other and annulled it yet so as it is not displeased or discontent, no, nor contesteth obstinately afterwards against the received opinion. To be short, and to conclude all in one general word; where it seemeth that one discourse and reason is contrary unto another; it argueth not by and by a conceit of two divers subjects, but one alone in sundry apprehensions and imaginations.

Howbeit, whensoever the brutish and sensual part is in a conflict with reason, and the same such that it can neither vanquish nor be vanquished without some sense of grievance; then incontinently this battle divideth the soul in twain, so as the war is evident and sensible. And not only by this fight a man may know how the source and beginning of these passions differeth from that fountain of reason: but no less also by the consequence that followeth thereupon. For seeing that possible it is for a man to love one child that is ingenuous and towardly disposed to virtue: as also affect another as well, who is ill given and dissolute: considering also that one may use anger unjustly against his own children or parents: and another contrariwise justly in the defence of children or parents against enemies and tyrants. Like as in the one there is perceived a manifest combat and resistance of passion against reason; so in the other there

may be seen as evident a yielding and obeisance thereof, suffering itself to be directed thereby, yea, and willingly running and offering her assistance and helping hand.

To illustrate this by a familiar example, it happeneth otherwhiles that an honest man espouseth a wife according to the laws, with this intention only, to cherish and keep her tenderly, yea, and to company with her duly, and according to the laws of chastity and honesty: howbeit afterwards in tract of time, and by long continuance and conversing together, which hath bred in his heart the affection of love, he perceiveth by discourse of reason, and findeth in himself that he loveth her more dearly and entirely than he purposed at the first. Semblably, young scholars, having met with gentle and kind masters at the beginning, follow and affect them in a kind of zeal, for the benefit only that they reap by them. Howbeit afterwards in process of time they fall to love them; and so instead of familiar and daily disciples, they become their lovers, and are so called. The same is usually to be seen in the behaviour and carriage of men toward good magistrates in cities, neighbours also, kinsfolk and allies: For they begin acquaintance one with another, after a civil sort only, by way of duty or necessity and use: but afterwards, by little and little ere they be aware, they grow into an affectionate love of them, namely, when reason doth concur, persuading and drawing unto it that part of the mind which is the seat of passions and affections. As for that poet, whosoever he was, that first wrote this sentence:

> Two sorts there be of bashfulness,
> The one we cannot blame,
> The other troubleth many a house,
> And doth decay the same:

doth he not plainly shew that he hath found in himself, by experience oftentimes, that even this affection, by means of lingering delay, and putting off from time to time, hath put him by the benefit of good opportunities, and hindered the execution of many brave affairs?

Unto these proofs and allegations precedent the Stoics being forced to yield, in regard they be so clear and evident: yet for to make some way of evasion and escape, they call shame, bashfulness; pleasure, joy; and fear, wariness or circumspection. And I assure you, no man could justly find fault with these disguisements of odious things with honest terms: if so be they would attribute unto these passions the said names

when they be ranged under the rule of reason, and give them their own hateful terms indeed, when they strive with reason and violently make resistance. But when convinced by the tears which they shed, by trembling and quaking of their joints, yea, by change of colour going and coming; instead of naming dolour and fear directly, come in with (I wot not what) pretty devised terms of morsures, contractions or conturbations: also when they would cloak and extenuate the imperfection of other passions, by calling lust a promptitude or forwardness to a thing: it seemeth that by a flourish of fine words they devise shifts, evasions, and justifications, not philosophical but sophistical.

And yet verily they themselves again do term those joys, those promptitudes of the will, and wary circumspections by the name of *eupathies*, *i.e.* good affections, and not of *apathies*, that is to say, impassibilities: wherein they use the words aright and as they ought. For then is it truly called *eupathy*, *i.e.*, a good affection, when reason doth not utterly abolish the passion, but guideth and ordereth the same well in such as be discreet and temperate. But what befalleth unto vicious and dissolute persons? Surely, when they have set down in their judgment and resolution, to love father and mother as tenderly as one lover may another, yet they are not able to perform so much. Marry, say that they determine to affect a courtesan or a flatterer, presently they can find in their hearts to love such most dearly. Moreover, if it were so, that passion and judgment were both one, it could not otherwise be, so soon as one had determined that he ought to love or hate, but that presently love or hate would follow thereupon.

But now it falleth out clean contrary; for that the passion as it accordeth well with some judgments and obeyeth, so it repugneth with others, and is obstinate and disobedient: whereupon it is, that themselves enforced thereto by the truth of the thing, do affirm and pronounce that every judgment is not a passion, but that only which stirreth up and moveth a strong and vehement appetite to a thing: confessing thereby, no doubt, that one thing it is in us which judgeth, and another thing that suffereth, that is to say, which receiveth passions: like as that which moveth, and that which is moved be divers. Certes, even Chrysippus himself, defining in many places what is patience and what is continency, doth avouch that they be habitudes, apt and fit to obey and follow the choice of reason: whereby he sheweth evidently that by the force of truth, he was driven to confess and avow that there is one thing in us

which doth obey and yield, and another which being obeyed, is yielded unto, and not obeyed, is resisted.

Furthermore, as touching the Stoics, who hold that all sins and faults be equal, neither will this place nor the time now serve to argue against them, whether in other points they swerve from the truth: howbeit, thus much by the way I dare be bold to say, that in most things they will be found to repugn reason, even against apparent and manifest evidence. For according to their opinion, every passion or perturbation is a fault, and whosoever grieve, fear or lust, do sin: but in those passions great difference there is seen, according to more or less: for who would ever be so gross as to say that Dolon's fear was equal to the fear of Ajax? who, as Homer writeth:

> As he went out of field did turn
> And look behind full oft:
> With knee before knee decently,
> And so retired soft;

or compare the sorrow of King Alexander, who would needs have killed himself for the death of Clytus, to that of Plato for the death of Socrates? For dolours and griefs encrease exceedingly when they grow upon occasion of that which happeneth besides all reason; like as any accident, which falleth out beyond our expectation, is more grievous, and breedeth greater anguish than that whereof a reason may be rendered, and which a man might suspect to follow. As, for example, if he who ever expected to see his son advanced to honour and living in great reputation among men, should hear say that he were in prison, and put to all manner of torture, as Parmeno was advertised of his son Philotas. And who will ever say that the anger of Nicocreon against Anaxarchus was to be compared with that of Magas against Philemon, which arose upon the same occasion, for that they both were spitefully reviled by them in reproachful terms, for Nicocreon caused Anaxarchus to be braid in a mortar with iron pestles: whereas Magas commanded the executioner to lay a sharp naked sword upon the neck of Philemon, and so to let him go without doing him any more harm.

And therefore it is that Plato named anger the sinews of the soul, giving us thereby to understand that they might be stretched by bitterness, and let slack by mildness. But the Stoics, for to avoid and put back these objections and such-like, deny that these stretchings and vehement fits of passions be according to judgment, for that it may fail and err many ways:

saying, they be certain pricks or stings, contractions, diffusions or dilatations, which in proportion and according to reason, may be greater or less. Certes, what variety there is in judgment it is plain and evident. For some there be that deem poverty not to be ill: others hold that it is very ill: and there are, again, who account it the worst thing in the world; insomuch as to avoid it they could be content to throw themselves headlong from high rocks into the sea. Also you shall have those who reckon death to be evil, in that only it depriveth us of the fruition of many good things; others there be who think and say as much, but it is in regard of the eternal torments and horrible punishments that be under the ground in hell. As for bodily health, some love it no otherwise than a thing agreeable to nature and profitable withal; others take it to be the sovereign good in the world, as without which they make no reckoning of riches, of children,

> Nor yet of crown and regal dignity,
> Which men do match even with divinity.

Nay, they let not in the end to think and say, that virtue itself serveth in no stead, and availeth nought, unless it be accompanied with good health: whereby it appeareth, that as touching judgment some err more, some less.

But my meaning is not now to dispute against this evasion of theirs. Thus much only I purpose to take for mine advantage out of their own confession, in that themselves do grant, that the brutish and sensual part, according to which they say that passions be greater and more violent, is different from judgment: and howsoever they may seem to contest and cavil about words and names, they grant the substance and the thing itself in question, joining with those who maintain that the reasonless part of the soul which entertaineth passions is altogether different from that which is able to discourse, reason, and judge. And verily Chrysippus, in those books which he entituled *Of Anomology*, after he had written and taught that anger is blind, and many times will not permit a man to see those things which be plain and apparent, and as often casteth a dark mist over that which he hath already perfectly learned and known; proceedeth forward a little further: For (quoth he) the passions which arise drive out and chase forth all discourse of reason, and such things as were judged and determined otherwise against them, urging it still by force unto contrary actions. Then he useth the

testimony of Menander the poet, who in one place writeth thus, by way of exclamation:

> Woe worth the time, wretch that I am,
> How was my mind distraught
> In body mine? where were my wits?
> Some folly (sure) me caught,
> What time I fell to this. For why?
> Thereof I made no choice.
> Far better things they were, iwis
> Which had my former voice.

The same Chrysippus also going on still: It being so (quoth he) that a reasonable creature is by nature born and given to use reason in all things, and to be governed thereby: yet notwithstanding we reject and cast it behind us, being overruled by another more violent motion that carrieth us away. In which words, what doth he else but confess even that which happeneth upon the dissension between affection and reason?

For it were a mere ridiculous mockery indeed, as Plato saith, to affirm that a man were better and worse than himself: or that he were able now to master himself, and anon ready to be mastered by himself, and how were it possible that the same man should be better and worse than himself, and at once both master and servant, unless every one were naturally in some sort double, and had in him somewhat better and somewhat worse?

And verily by that means, he that hath the worse part obedient to the better, hath power over himself, yea, and is better than himself: whereas he that suffereth the brutish and unreasonable part of his soul to command and go before, so as the better and more noble part doth follow, and is serviceable unto it, he no doubt is worse than himself: he is (I say) incontinent or rather impotent, and hath no power over himself, but disposed contrary to nature. For according to the course and ordinance of nature, meet and fit it is that reason, being divine and heavenly, should command and rule that which is sensual and void of reason: which as it doth arise and spring out of the very body, so it resembleth it, as participating the properties and passions thereof, yea, and naturally is full of them, as being deeply concorporate and throughly mixed therewith: As it may appear by all the motions which it hath, tending to no other things but those that be material and corporal, as receiving their augmentations and diminutions from thence (or to say more properly), being stretched out and let slack more or less, according to the mutations of the body. Which is the cause

that young persons are quick, prompt, and audacious; rash also, for that they be full of blood, and the same hot, their lusts and appetites are likewise fiery, violent and furious: whereas contrariwise in old folk because the source of concupiscence seated about the liver is after a sort quenched, yea, and become weak and feeble: reason is more vigorous and predominant in them: as much as the sensual and passionate part doth languish and decay together with the body.

And verily this is that which doth frame and dispose the nature of wild beasts to divers passions: For it is not long of any opinions good or bad which arise in them, that some of them are strong, venturous and fearless, yea, and ready to withstand any perils presented before them; others again be so surprised with fear and fright that they dare not stir or do anything: but the force and power which lieth in the blood, in the spirits and in the whole body, is that which causeth this diversity of passions, by reason that the passible part, growing out of the flesh as from a root, doth bud forth and bring with it a quality and proneness semblable. But in man that there is a sympathy and fellow moving of the body, together with the motions of the passions, may be proved by the pale colour, the red flushing of the face, the trembling of the joints, and panting and leaping of the heart in fear and anger: And again on the contrary side by the dilatations of the arteries, heart and colour, in hope and expectation of some pleasures.

But when as the divine spirit and understanding of man doth move of itself alone without any passion, then the body is at repose and remaineth quiet, not communicating nor participating any whit with the operation of the mind and intendment, no more than it being disposed to study upon any mathematical proposition or other science speculative, it calleth for the help and assistance of the unreasonable part: By which it is manifest, that there be two distinct parts in us, different in faculty and power one from another. In sum, Go through the universal world, all things (as they themselves affirm, and evident experience doth convince) are governed and ordered, some by a certain habitude; others by nature: some by a sensual and unreasonable soul; others by that which hath reason and understanding. Of all which man hath his part at once, yea, and was born naturally with these differences above said. For, contained he is by an habitude: nourished by nature: reason and understanding he useth: he hath his portion likewise of that which is unreasonable and inbred, there is together with

him the source and primitive cause of passions, as a thing necessary for him, neither doth it enter into him from without: in which regard it ought not to be extirped utterly, but hath need only of ordering and government: whereupon reason dealeth not after the Thracian manner, nor like King Lycurgus, who commanded all vines without exception to be cut down, because wine caused drunkenness: it rooteth not out (I say) all affections indifferently one with another, the profitable as well as the hurtful: but (like unto the good gods Phytalmius and Homerides, who teach us to order plants that they may fructify, and to make them gentle which were savage) to cut away that which groweth wild and rank, to save all the rest and so to order and manage the same that it may serve for good use. For neither do they shed and spill their wine upon the floor who are afraid to be drunk, but delay the same with water: nor those who fear the violence of a passion do take it quite away, but rather temper and qualify the same: like as folk use to break horses and oxen from their flinging out with their heels, their stiffness and curstness of the head and stubbornness in receiving the bridle or the yoke, but do not restrain them of other motions in going about their work and doing their deed. And even so verily, reason maketh good use of these passions, when they be well tamed and brought (as it were) to hand: without over weakening or rooting out clean that part of the soul which is made for to second reason, and do it good service: For as Pindarus saith:

> The horse doth serve in chariot at the thill,
> The ox at plough doth labour hard in field.
> Who list in chase the wild boar for to kill,
> The hardy hound he must provide with skill.

And I assure you, the entertainment of these passions and their breed serve in far better stead when they do assist reason and give an edge (as it were) and vigour unto virtues, than the beasts above named in their kind. Thus moderate ire doth second valour and fortitude: hatred of wicked persons helpeth the execution of justice: and indignation is just and due unto those who without any merit or desert enjoy the felicity of this life: who also for that their heart is puffed up with foolish arrogancy, and enflamed with disdainful pride and insolence in regard of their prosperity, have need to be taken down and cooled. Neither is a man able by any means (would he never so fain) to separate from true friendship, natural indulgence, and kind affection: nor from humanity, commiseration and pity;

nor yet from perfect benevolence and goodwill, the fellowship in joy and sorrow.

Now if it be true (as it is indeed) that they do grossly err who would abolish all love, because of foolish and wanton love: surely they do amiss who, for covetousness sake and greediness of money, do blame and condemn quite all other appetites and desires. They do (I say) as much as those who would forbid running altogether, because a man may stumble and catch a fall as he runneth: or debar shooting for that we may overshoot and miss the mark: or to condemn hearing of music, because a discord or jar is offensive to the ear. For like as in sounds, music maketh an accord and harmony, not by taking away the loud and base notes: And in our bodies physic procureth health, not by destroying heat and cold, but by a certain temperature and mixture of them both in good proportion: Even so it fareth in the soul of man, wherein reason hath the predominance and victory: namely, when by the power thereof, the passions, perturbations and motions are reduced into a kind of moderation and mediocrity. For no doubt excessive sorrow and heaviness, immeasurable joy and gladness in the soul may be aptly compared to a swelling and inflammation in the body, but neither joy nor sorrow simply in itself. And therefore Homer in this wise sentence of his:

> A man of worth doth never colour change,
> Excessive fear in him is very strange,

doth not abolish fear altogether, but the extremity thereof; to the end that a man should not think that either valour is desperate folly, or confidence audacious temerity. And therefore in pleasures and delights, we ought likewise to cut off immoderate lust: as also in taking punishment, extreme hatred of malefactors. He that can do so shall be reputed in the one not indolent, but temperate, and in the other not bitter and cruel, but just and righteous.

Whereas let passions be rid clean away (if that were possible to be done), our reason will be found in many things more dull and idle: like as the pilot and master of a ship hath little to do if the wind be laid and no gale at all stirring. And verily (as it should seem) wise law-makers, seeing this well enough, have with great policy given occasion in cities and commonwealths of ambition and emulation among citizens one with another: and in the field against enemies devised to excite the courage of soldiers, and to whet their ire and manhood by sound of trumpets, fifes, drums, and other instruments. For not only

in poetry (as Plato saith very well) he that is inspired and (as it were) ravished with the divine instinct of the Muses, will make a ridiculous fool of him who otherwise is an excellent poet, and his craftsmaster as having learned the exquisite knowledge of the art; but also in battles, the heat of courage set on fire with a certain divine inspiration is invincible and cannot be withstood. This is that martial fury which (as Homer saith) the gods do infuse or inspire rather into warlike men:

> Thus having said he did inspire
> The prince's heart with might and ire.

And again:

> One god or other surely doth him assist,
> Else faring thus, he never could persist.

As if to the discourse of reason they had adjoined passion as a prick to incite, and a chariot to set it forward. Certes, even these very Stoics with whom now we argue, and who seem to reject all passions, we may see oftentimes how they stir up young men with praises, and as often rebuke them with sharp admonitions and severe reprehensions. Whereof there must needs ensue of the one part pleasure, and of the other part displeasure. For surely checks and fault-findings strike a certain repentance and shame: of which two, the former is comprised under sorrow, and the latter under fear: and these be the means that they use principally to chastise and correct withal. Which was the reason that Diogenes upon a time, when he heard Plato so highly praised and extolled: And what great and worthy matter (quoth he) find you in that man, who having been a philosopher so long and taught the precepts thereof, hath not in all this time grieved and wounded the heart of any one person? For surely the mathematical sciences a man cannot so properly call the ears or handles of philosophy (to use the words of Xenocrates) as he may affirm that these affections of young men, to wit, bashfulness, desire, repentance, pleasure and pain, are their handles, whereof reason and law together taking hold by a discreet, apt and wholesome touch, bring a young man speedily and effectually into the right way. And therefore the Lacedæmonian schoolmaster and governor of children said very well, when he professed that he would bring to pass that the child whom he took into his tuition should joy in honest things, and grieve in those that were foul and dishonest. Than which there cannot possibly be named a more worthy or commendable end of the liberal education and bringing up of a young youth well descended.

OF VIRTUE AND VICE

THE SUMMARY

[In this little treatise adjoined aptly unto the former, the author proveth that outward and corruptible things be not they that set the soul in repose, but reason well ruled and governed: And after that he hath depainted the miserable estate of wicked and sinful persons, troubled and tormented with their passions both night and day, he proveth by proper and apt similitudes that philosophy, together with the love of virtue, bringeth true contentment and happiness indeed unto a man.]

It seemeth, and commonly it is thought, that they be the garments which do heat a man; and yet of themselves they neither do heat nor bring any heat with them: for take any of them apart by itself, you shall find it cold; which is the reason that men, being very hot and in a fit of fever, love often to change their clothes, for to cool and refresh their bodies. But the truth is this, Look what heat a man doth yield from himself, the clothes or garments that cover the body do keep in the same, and unite close together: and being thus included and held in, suffer it not to evaporate, breathe out, and vanish away.

The same error in the state of this life hath deceived many men, who imagine that if they may dwell in stately and gorgeous great houses, be attended upon with a number of servants, retain a sort of slaves, and can gather together huge sums of gold and silver, then they shall live in joy and pleasure: whereas in very sooth, the sweet and joyful life proceedeth not from anything without. But contrariwise, when a man hath those goodly things about him, it is himself that addeth a pleasure and grace unto them, even from his own nature and civil behaviour, composed by moral virtue within him, which is the very fountain and lively spring of all good contentment.

> For if the fire do always burn out light,
> More stately is the house, and faire in sight.

Semblably, riches are more acceptable, glory hath the better and more shining lustre, yea, and authority carrieth the greater grace, if the inward joy of the soul be joined therewith: For

surely men do endure poverty, exile, and banishment out of their own countries, yea, and bear the burden of old age willingly and with more ease, according as their manners be mild, and the mind disposed to meekness. And like as sweet odours and aromatical perfumes give a pleasant smell unto threadbare and ragged clothes; but contrariwise, the rich robe of Anchyses yielded from under it stinking matter and corrupt blood; which, as the poet saith:

> Ran down by drops upon his cloak
> Of silk so fine, and it did soak.

Even so with virtue, any sort of life and all manner of living is pleasant and void of sorrow: whereas contrariwise, vice causeth those things which otherwise seemed great, honourable and magnificent, to be odious, lothsome and unwelcome to those that have them, if (I say) it be mingled therewith, according to the testimony of these vulgar verses:

> This man, who whiles he walks abroad in street
> Or market-place, is ever happy thought:
> No sooner sets within his own house feet,
> Thrice wretched but he is, and not for nought.
> His wife (as master) hath of all the power,
> She bids, commands, she chides and fights each hour.

And yet one may with ease be rid and divorced from such a curst and shrewd wife, if he be a man indeed, and not a bond-slave; but for thine own vice, no means will serve to exempt thee from it. It is not enough to command it to be gone, by sending a little script or bill of divorcement, and to think thereby to be delivered from troubles, and so to live alone in quiet and repose. For it cleaveth close within the ribs, it sticketh fast in the very bowels, it dwelleth there both night and day:

> It burneth thee, yet firebrand none is seen,
> And hasteneth age apace before thou ween.

A troublesome companion it is upon the way, by reason of arrogancy and presumption: a costly and sumptuous guest at the table for gluttony and gormandise: an unpleasant and cumbersome bedfellow in the night, in regard of thoughts, cares and jealousies which break the sleep, or trouble the same with fantasies. For whiles men lie asleep, the body is at rest and repose; but the mind all the while is disquieted and affrighted with fearful dreams and tumultuous visions, by reason of superstitious fear of the gods:

> If that I sleep, when sorrows me surprise,
> Then fearful dreams me kill before I rise,

saith one. And even so do other vices serve men: to wit, envy, fear, wrath, wanton love, and unbridled lust. For in the daytime, vice looking out, and composing itself somewhat unto others abroad, is somewhat ashamed of herself, and covereth her passions; she giveth not herself wholly to her motions and perturbations, but many times doth strive again and make resistance: but in sleep, being without the danger of laws and the opinion of the world, being far removed (as it were) from fear and shame: then it setteth all lusts awork, then it quickeneth and raiseth up all lewdness, and then it displayeth all lascivious wantonness. It tempteth (as Plato saith) a man to have carnal dealing with his own mother, and to eat of forbidden and unlawful meats: there is no villany that it forbeareth; executing (so far forth as it is able) all abomination, and hath the fruition thereof, if it be but by illusions and fanatical dreams, which end not in any pleasure, nor accomplishment of concupiscence, but are powerful only to excite, stir, and provoke still the fits of secret passions and maladies of a corrupt heart.

Wherein lieth, then, the pleasure and delight of sin, if it be so, that in no place nor at any time it be void of pensiveness, care and grief? if it never have contentment, but always in molestation and trouble, without repose? As for carnal delights and fleshly pleasures, the good complexion and sound constitution of an healthful body giveth thereto means, place, opportunity and breeding. But in the soul it is not possible that there should be engendered any mirth, joy and contentment, unless the first foundation be laid in peace of conscience, and tranquillity of spirit, void of fear, and enjoying a settled calm in all assurance and confidence, without any shew of tempest toward. For otherwise, suppose that some hope do smile upon a man; or say, that delight tickle a little; the same anon is troubled, and all the sport is marred by some careful cogitation breaking forth: like as the object and concurrence of one rock troubleth and overthroweth all, though the water and weather both be never so calm.

Now gather gold and spare not by heaps, rake and scrape together masses of silver, build fair, gallant and stately walking-places, replenish all thy house with slaves, and a whole city with debtors: unless withal thou do allay the passions of thy mind; unless thou stay and appease thy insatiable lust and desire; unless thou free and deliver thyself from all fear and carking cares: thou dost as much as strain wine, or make ipocras for one that is sick of a fever, give honey to a choleric person diseased with

the raging motion of choler, offer meats and viands to those that be sick of the stomachical flux, continual lask, ulceration of the guts and bloody flux, who neither take pleasure therein, nor are the better but the worse rather a great deal for them. See you not how sick folks are offended, and their stomachs rise at the most fine, costly, and daintiest meats that be offered unto them? how they spit them forth again, and will none, though they be forced upon them? And yet afterwards, when the body is reduced again into good temperature: when pure spirits and good fresh blood is engendered, and when the natural heat is restored and become familiar and kind: then they rise up on their feet to their meat, then their stomachs serve to eat full savourly of coarse bread with cheese or cresses, and therein they take great pleasure and contentment: The like disposition in the mind doth reason work. Then and never before shalt thou be pleased and at peace with thyself, when thou hast once learned what is good and honest indeed: In poverty thou shalt live deliciously like a king: or in a private and quiet state sequestered from civil and public affairs, thou shalt live as well as they who have the conduct of great armies, and govern the commonweal. When thou hast studied philosophy and profited therein, thou shalt never lead a life in discontentment, but shalt learn how to away with any estate and course of life, and therein find no small joy and heart's ease. Thy riches thou wilt rejoice in, because thou shalt have better means to do good unto all men: In poverty likewise thou wilt take joy in regard thou shalt have fewer cares to trouble thee: Glory will turn to thy solace, when thou shalt see thyself so honoured: and thy low estate and obscure condition will be no less comfort, for that thou shalt be safe and secured from envy.

THAT VIRTUE MAY BE TAUGHT AND LEARNED

THE SUMMARY

[PLUTARCH, refuting here the error of those who are of opinion, that by good and diligent instruction a man cannot become the better, recommendeth sufficiently the study of virtue. And to prove this assertion of his, he sheweth that the apprentissage of that which is of small consequence in this world, witnesseth enough that a man ought to be trained from day to day to the knowledge of things that are beseeming and worthy his person: Afterwards, he declareth that as much travel should be employed to make him comprehend such things as be far distant from the capacity and excellency of his spirit: In which discourse he taxeth covertly those vain and giddy heads, who (as they say) run after their own shadow, whereas they should stay and rest upon that which is firm and permanent.]

WE dispute of virtue, and put in question, whether prudence, justice, loyalty and honesty may be taught or no? And do we admire then the works of orators, sailors and shipmasters, architects, husbandmen, and an infinite number of other such which be extant? Whereas of good men we have nothing but their bare and simple names, as if they were hippo-centaurs, giants, or Cyclopes: and marvel we that of virtuous actions which be entire, perfect, and unblameable, none can be found: nor yet any manners so composed according to duty, but that they be tainted with some passions and vicious perturbations? yea, and if it happen that nature of herself bring forth some good and honest actions, the same straightways are darkened, corrupted and in a manner marred, by certain strange mixtures of contrary matters that creep into them, like as when among good corn there grow up weeds and wild bushes that choke the same; or when some kind and gentle fruit is clean altered by savage nourishment.

Men learn to sing, to dance, to read and write, to till the ground, and to ride horses, they learn likewise to shoe themselves, to do on their apparel decently; they are taught to wait at cup and trencher, to give drink at the table, to season and dress meat: and none of all this can they skill to perform and

do handsomely, if they be not trained thereto: and yet shall that, for which these and such-like qualities they learn, to wit, good life and honest conversation, be reckoned a mere casual thing, coming by chance and fortune, and which can neither be taught nor learned? Oh, good sirs, what a thing is this? In saying that virtue cannot be taught, we deny withal that it is, or hath any being. For if it be true that the learning of it is the generation and breeding thereof, certes he that hindereth the one disannulleth the other: and in denying that it may be taught, we grant that no such thing there is at all: And yet, as Plato saith, for the neck of a lute not made in proportion to the rest of the body, there was never known one brother go to war with another, nor a friend to quarrel with his friend, nor yet two neighbour cities to fall out and maintain deadly feud, to the interchangeable working and suffering of those miseries and calamities which follow open war. Neither can any man come forth and say, that by occasion of an accent (as, for example, whether the word *telchines* should be pronounced with the accent over the second syllable or no) there arose sedition and dissension in any city; or debate in a house between man and wife about the warp and woof of any web: Howbeit never man yet would take in hand to wear a piece of cloth, nor handle a book, nor play upon the lute or harp, unless he had learned before; for albeit he were not like to sustain any great loss and notable damage thereby, yet he would fear to be mocked and laughed to scorn for his labour, in which case, as Heraclitus saith, it were better for a man to conceal his own ignorance: and may such an one think, then, that he could order a house well, rule a wife, and behave himself as it becometh in marriage, bear magistracy, or govern a commonweal as he ought, being never bound and brought up to it? Diogenes, espying upon a time a boy eating greedily and unmannerly, gave his master or tutor a good cuff on the ear: and good reason he had so to do, as imputing the fault rather to him, who had not taught, than to the boy, who had not learned better manners. And is it so indeed? ought they of necessity, who would be mannerly at the table, both in putting hand to a dish of meat, and taking the cup with a good grace, or as Aristophanes saith,

> At board not feeding greedily,
> Nor laughing much, indecently,
> Nor crossing feet full wantonly,

to be taught even from their infancy. And is it possible that the same should know how to behave themselves in wedlock,

how to manage the affairs of state, how to converse among men, how to bear office without touch and blame, unless they have learned first how to carry themselves one toward another?

Aristippus answered upon a time, when one said unto him, And are you, sir, everywhere? I should (quoth he, laughing merrily) cast away the fare for ferriage, which I pay unto the mariner, if I were everywhere. And why might not a man say likewise, If children be not the better for their teaching, the salary is lost which men bestow upon their masters and teachers. But we see that they taking them into their governance presently from their nurses, like as they did form their limbs and joints featly with their hands, do prepare and frame their manners accordingly, and set them in the right way to virtue. And to this purpose answered very wisely a Laconian schoolmaster to one who demanded of him, what good he did to the child of whom he had the charge? Marry (quoth he), I make him to take joy and pleasure in those things that be honest. And to say a truth, these teachers and governors instruct children to hold up their heads straight as they go in the street, and not to bear it forward: also, not to dip into sauce but with one finger: not to take bread or fish but with twain: to rub or scratch after this or that manner: and thus and thus to truss and hold up their clothes.

What shall we say then to him who would make us believe that the art of physic professeth to scour the morphew, or heal a whit-flaw: but not to cure a pleurisy, fever, or the phrensy? And what differeth he from them who hold that there be schools and rules to teach petties and little children how to be mannerly, and demean themselves in small matters, but as for great, important and absolute things, it must be nothing else but use and custom, or else mere chance and fortune that doth effect them? For like as he were ridiculous, and worthy to be laughed at, who should say that no man ought to lay hand upon the oar for to row but he that hath been prentice to it; but sit at the stern and guide the helm he may who was never taught it: even so, he who maintaineth that in some inferior arts there is required apprentissage, but for the attaining of virtue none at all, deserveth likewise to be mocked.

And verily, he should do contrary unto the Scythians: For they, as Herodotus writeth, use to put out the eyes of their slaves only to the end that being blind they might turn round about with their milk, and so stir and shake it. But he forsooth putteth the eye of reason into these base and inferior arts, which

are no better than servants waiting upon others; but plucketh it from virtue. Iphicrates answered contrariwise, being demanded of Callias, the son of Chabrias, by way of contempt and derision, in this wise, What are you, sir? An archer? A targetiere? A man at arms? or a light-armed soldier? I am none (quoth he) of all these, but rather one of those who commandeth them all. Well, ridiculous then is he, and very absurd, who would say there were an art to be taught of drawing a bow and shooting, of fighting close at hand being armed at all pieces, of discharging bullets with a sling, or of sitting and riding an horse; but forsooth to lead and conduct an army there was none at all: as who would say that feat were a thing not learned, but coming by chance, I know not how. And yet I must needs say, more sottish and foolish were he who should hold and affirm that prudence only could not be taught, without which no other arts and sciences be worth ought, or avail any whit. That this is true, and that she is alone the guide which leadeth and guideth all other sciences, arts, and virtues, giving them every one their due place and honour, and making them profitable to mankind, a man may know by this, if there were nothing else, that there would be no grace at a feast, though the meat were never so well dressed and served up by skilful cooks, though there were proper esquires or shewers to set the dishes upon the board, carvers, tasters, skinkers, and other servitors and waiters enough, unless there be some good order observed among the said ministers, to place and dispose everything as it ought.

HOW A MAN MAY DISCERN A FLATTERER FROM A FRIEND

THE SUMMARY

[The traveller hath great occasion and cause to rejoice, if in his journey he go with a good companion, who by his pleasant and profitable discourses may make him forget the tedious difficulty of the way: even so in this life, happy is the man who can find and meet with those to bear him company, by whom he may both easily pass through the occurrent dangers that are presented unto him, and also advance forward cheerfully unto virtue. In which regard our author, Plutarch, having discoursed as touching the nouriture, education, and instruction of youth, as also of vice and virtue in general, by good order and in great reason, sheweth in this treatise what sort of people we ought carefully to avoid, and with whom to join and be acquainted. And as he was a man well experienced and practised in the affairs of this world, he affirmeth and proveth by very sound and firm reasons, that there is nothing whereof we are to be more wary and heedful than false friendship, which he calleth flattery. Moreover, this being a matter of so great importance, as every wise man may well think and perceive, he draweth out this present discourse in length: and for that his purpose is to instruct us in those means whereby we may be able to distinguish between a flatterer and a true friend, he sheweth in the first place, that the only principal remedy to stop up the entry against all flatterers is to know ourselves well: for otherwise we shall have such array and ornaments hanged upon us, that we shall not easily perceive and discern who we are. And contrariwise, it happeneth oftentimes that we esteem them to be our perfect friends, so skilful are they in counterfeiting; and withal, when they find us disposed to entertain such company, our own indiscretion depriveth us of that true insight and view which our soul ought to have in discerning a false friend from a true. Being willing, therefore, to aid and help us in this point, he describeth a crafty and wily flatterer, he discovereth his cunning casts, and depainteth him in his colours, shewing the very draught and lineaments which may direct us to the knowledge of him, to wit, that he doth conform and frame himself to the humour and nature of those whose company he haunteth; how he is unconstant and mutable, changing and turning into many and sundry fashions without any right and sincere affection, applying himself all the while to everything else but virtue, willing to be reputed always more lewd and vicious than those whom he flattereth: without regard of doing them good any way, or seeking their profit, he only aimeth at this, to please them and follow

their vein in all things by custom and use, bringing him that will give ear unto his words, to this pass, that he shall think vice to be virtue: working covertly and underhand for to deceive more cleanly, transforming virtue into vice, and making it nothing strange and coy to blame himself, for to do the more mischief afterwards to another: then he flattereth most when he maketh no semblance or shew at all that he mindeth any such thing, and exalteth up to the sky those that be most vicious and worst of all others, so they will give him entertainment. Likewise, for that flatterers shew themselves otherwhiles very forward and bold to speak their minds and to find fault, which is one of the best and surest marks of true friendship, he treateth consequently of this liberty and freedom of speech, and how a man may know whether there be any flattery therein or no. He declareth, therefore, how flatterers use this frank reprehension in vain and frivolous things, and never in those sins and gross faults which are indeed blameworthy: so that this manner of reprehension is a kind of soothing them up and lulling men asleep in their notorious vices: or else they charge them with faults clean contrary.

Now after he hath shewed how a man should take heed and beware of them, he discourseth of those services which may make flatterers, and wherein the same differ from the offices and duties of friends, and in pursuing and prosecuting this antithesis, he proveth that a flatterer is prest and ready to do us pleasure in shameful matters, whereas a friend sheweth his good will in those that be honest: also that a flatterer is envious, and so is not a friend. And for that our nature is proud and blind withal, having need of good friends to guide and direct it, he describeth with what manner of eye and ear we ought to see and hear those that procure our good, albeit they may seem to carry with them a kind of severity. Meanwhile he exhorteth friends so to temper and qualify their liberty in reprehension that all impudency and importunate rigour be far from it. But forasmuch as this is (as it were) the principal thing in amity, he sheweth that first we must cut away self-love in all our reprehensions; and secondly all injurious, bitter and biting speeches: then he adjoineth, moreover, in what seasons, and upon what occurrences, a man ought to reprove and say his mind frankly: and with what dexterity he is to proceed: that is to say, that sometimes, yea, and more often, he ought to rebuke his friend apart, or under the person of another: wherein he is to look unto this, that he eschew all vainglory, and season his reprehensions with some praise among, to make them more acceptable and better taken. Consequently, he teacheth us how we must receive the advertisements, admonitions, and reprehensions of a true friend: and returning to the very point, indeed, of amity and friendship, he sheweth what mean a man should keep for to avert and turn away the neighbour vice, and to urge our friends forward to their devoir: adding, moreover, that all remonstrance and admonition ought to be tempered with mildness and lenity: wherein he concludeth this whole treatise, which I assure you is to be well read and marked in these days of all persons, but those especially who are advanced above others in worldly wealth or honourable place.]

Plato writeth (O Antiochus Philopappus) that all men do willingly pardon him who professeth that he loveth himself best: Howbeit thereby (quoth he) is engendered in us this fault and inconvenience among many others the greatest: that by this means no man can be a just judge of himself, but partial and favourable. For the lover is ordinarily blinded in the thing that he loveth, unless he have been taught, yea, and accustomed long before, to affect and esteem things honest above those that be his own properly, or inbred and familiar to him. This is it that giveth unto a flatterer that large field, under pretence of friendship, where he hath a fort (as it were) commodiously seated, and with the vantage to assail and endamage us, and that is self-love: whereby every man being the first and greatest flatterer of himself, he can be very well content to admit a stranger to come near and flatter him, namely, when he thinketh and is well willing withal to witness with him and to confirm that good self-conceit and opinion of his own. For even he who is justly reproached to be a lover of flatterers, loveth himself notwithstanding exceeding well: and for that good affection that he hath, is both very willing, yea, and fully persuaded also, that all good things are in himself: and the desire whereof is not simply bad and unlawful: but the persuasion is that it is dangerous and slippery, having need to be restrained with great heed and carefulness.

Now if truth be an heavenly thing, and the very source yielding all good things (as Plato saith), as well to the gods as to men: we ought thus to judge that a flatterer is an enemy to the gods, and principally to Apollo: For opposite he is always and contrary to this precept of his, *Know thyself:* causing a man to be abused and deceived by his own self, yea and to be ignorant of the good and evil things that be in him; in making the good gifts which are in him to be defective and unperfect: but the evil parts incorrigible and such as cannot be reformed. Now if it were so, that flattery (as the most part of other vices) touched either only or especially base, mean, and abject persons, it were perhaps neither so hurtful nor so hard to be avoided as it is. But like as worms breed most of all and soonest in frim, tender and sweet wood: even so, for the most part, the generous and gentle natures, and those minds that are more ingenuous, honest, amiable, and mild than others, are readiest to receive and nourish the flatterer that hangeth upon him.

Moreover, as Simonides was wont to say, that the keeping of an esquiry or stable of horses, followeth not the lamp or oil

cruet, but the rich cornfields: that is, it is not for poor men to entertain great horses, but those rather who are landed men and with their revenues able to maintain them: Even so, we see it is ordinary that flattery keepeth not company nor sorteth with poor folk, or such persons as live obscurely and are of no ability: but commonly it is the ruin and decay of great houses, and a malady incident to mighty states; which oftentimes undoeth and overthroweth whole monarchies, realms, and great seignories. In which regard it is no small matter, nor a thing that requireth little or no forecast and providence, to search and consider the nature thereof: lest being so active and busy as it is, and ready to meddle in every place (nothing so much), it do no hurt unto friendship, nor bring it into obloquy and discredit. For these flatterers resemble lice for all the world: And why? These vermin we see never haunt those that be dead, but leave and forsake the corpse so soon as ever the blood (whereof they were wont to feed) is extinct or deprived of vital spirit: Semblably, a man shall never see flatterers so much as approach unto such persons as are in decay, whose state is cracked and credit waxeth cool; but look where there is the glory of the world, where there is authority and power, thither they flock, and there they grow: no sooner is there a change of fortune but they sneak and slink away, and are no more seen.

But we ought not to attend so long and stay for this trial, being unprofitable, or rather hurtful and not without some danger: For it goeth very hard with a man, if at the very instant and not before, even when he hath most need of friendship, to peceive those to be no friends whom he took to be, and namely, when he hath not with him at hand a good and faithful friend, to exchange for him that is untrusty, disloyal and counterfeit. For if a man did well, he should be provided beforehand of an approved and tried friend, ere he have need to employ him, as well as of current and lawful money; and not then to make trial of him and find him faulty, when he is in greatest necessity and standeth in most need: For we ought not to make proof with our loss, and find him to be false to our cost and detriment; but contrariwise to be skilful in the means of smelling out a flatterer, that we receive no damage by him: For otherwise, that might befall us which happeneth unto those who for to know the force of deadly poisons, take the assay and taste first themselves thereof: well may they indeed come to the judgment thereof: but this skill is dearly bought, when they are sure to die for it.

And like as we do not commend such; no more can we praise and approve of those who measure friendship only by honesty and profit: thinking withal, that such as converse and company with them pleasantly are straightways to be attainted as flatterers, no less than if they were taken in the very act of flattery: For surely a friend should not be unpleasant and unsavoury, without any seasoning (as it were) of delightsome qualities: neither is friendship to be accounted venerable in this respect, that it is austere or bitter; but even that very beauty and gravity that it hath is sweet and desirable, and as the poet saith:

> About her always seated be
> Delightsome love and graces three.

And not he only who is in calamity

> Doth great content and comfort find
> To see the face of trusty friend,

according as Euripides saith, but true amity addeth no less grace, pleasure, and joy unto those that be in prosperity, than it easeth them of sorrow and grief who are in adversity. Evenus was wont to say that of all pleasant sauce, fire was the best and most effectual: And even so God having mingled friendship with this life of ours, hath made all things joyous, sweet, pleasant and acceptable, where a friend is present and enjoyeth his part. For otherwise a man cannot devise nor express how and in what sort a flatterer could insinuate himself and creep into favour, under the colour of pleasure, if he saw that friendship in the own nature never admitted anything that was pleasant and delectable. But like as false and counterfeit pieces of gold, which will not abide the touch, represent only the lustre and bright glittering of gold: So a flatterer resembling the sweet and pleasant behaviour of a friend, sheweth himself always jocund, merry and delightsome, without crossing at any time.

And therefore we ought not presently to suspect all them to be flatterers who are given to praise others: For otherwhiles to commend a man, so it be done in time and place convenient, is a property no less befitting a friend than to blame and reprehend: Nay, contrariwise, there is nothing so adverse and repugnant to amity and society than testiness, thwarting, complaining, and evermore fault-finding: whereas, if a man knoweth the goodwill of his friend to be ever prest and ready to yield due praises, and those in full measure to things well done, he will bear more patiently and in better part another time his free reprehensions

and reproof for that which is done amiss: for that he is verily persuaded of him that as he was willing enough to praise, so he was as loth to dispraise, and therefore taketh all in good worth.

A difficult matter then it is, will some one say, to discern a flatterer from a friend, seeing there is no difference between them, either in doing pleasure, or yielding praise: for otherwise, we see oftentimes, that in many services, courtesies and kindnesses besides, a flatterer is more ready and forward than a friend. True it is indeed we must needs say: a right hard matter it is to know the one from the other; especially if we speak of a right flatterer indeed, who is his own craftsmaster, and can skill how to handle the matter artificially, and with great cunning and dexterity: if (I say) we make no reckoning of them for flatterers, as the common people do, who are these ordinary smell-feasts, and as ready as flies to light in every dish: these parasites (I say), whose tongue (as one said very well) will be walking so soon as men have washed their hands and be ready to sit down to meat, cogging and soothing up their good masters at every word, who have no honesty at all in them, and whose scurrility, profane and irreligious impurity a man shall soon find with one dish of meat and cup of wine. For surely there was no great need to detect and convince the flattery of Melanthius, the parasite and jester of Alexander Pheræus the Tyrant, who being asked upon a time how Alexander his good lord and master was murdered, Marry, with a thrust (quoth he) of a sword, which went in at his side, and ran as far as into my belly: neither of such as a man shall never see to fail, but where there is a good house and plentiful table kept, they will be sure to gather round about it, in such sort as there is no fire nor iron grates, or brass gates, can keep them back, but they will be ready to put their foot under the board: no, nor of those women who in times past were called in Cypres, *colacides*, *i.e.* flatteresses; but after they were come to Syria, men named them *climacides*, as one would say, *ladderesses*, for that they used to lie along, and to make their backs stepping-stools or ladders as it were for queens and great men's wives to get upon when they would mount into their coaches.

What kind of flatterer then is it so hard and yet needful to beware of? Forsooth, even of him who seemeth none such, and professeth nothing less than to flatter: whom a man shall never find about the kitchen where the good meat is dressed, nor take measuring of shadows to know how the day goes, and

when it is dinner or supper time: nor yet see drunken and lying along the ground untowardly, and full like a beast: But for the most part sober he is enough; he loveth to be a curious polypragmon; he will have an oar in every boat, and thinks he is to intermeddle in all matters; he hath a mind to be privy and party in all deep secrets; and in one word, he carrieth himself like a grave tragedian, and not as a comical and satirical player, and under that visor and habit he counterfeiteth a friend. For according to the saying of Plato, it is the greatest and most extreme injustice for a man to make semblance of being just when he is not: even so we are to think that flattery of all others to be most dangerous, which is covert and not apert or professed; which is serious (I say) and not practised by way of jest and sport.

And verily such glozing and flattery as this causeth men oftentimes to mistrust true friendship indeed, and doth derogate much from the credit thereof: for that in many things it jumpeth so even therewith, unless a man take very good heed and look narrowly into it. True it is, that Gobrias being run into a dark and secret room, together with one of the usurping tyrants of Persia, called Magi, whom he pursued hard, and at handy gripes struggling, grappling, and wrestling close together, cried out unto Darius coming into the place with a naked sword, and doubting to thrust at the usurper, for fear he should run Gobrias through also, Thrust hardly and spare not (quoth he), though you dispatch us both at once.

But we who in no wise can allow of that common saying, Let a friend perish, so he take an enemy with him: but are desirous to pluck and part a flatterer from a friend, with whom he is coupled and interlaced by means of so many resemblances: we (I say) have great cause to fear and beware that we do not cast and reject from us the good with the bad: or least in pardoning and accepting that which is agreeable and familiar unto us, we fall upon that which is hurtful and dangerous. For like as among wild seeds of another kind, those that being of the same form, fashion, and bigness with the grains of wheat are intermingled therewith, a man shall hardly try out from the rest, for that they will not pass through the holes of the sieve, ruddle or try, if they be narrow; and in case they be large and wide, out goeth the good corn together with them; even so it is passing hard to separate flattery from friendship, being so intermeddled therewith in all accidents, motions, affairs, dealings, employment, and conversation as it is. For considering

that a flatterer seeth well enough that there is nothing in the world so pleasurable as friendship, nor yieldeth more contentment unto man than it doth: He windeth himself into favour by means of pleasure, and wholly is employed to procure mirth and delight. Also for that both grace and commodity doth always accompany amity; in which regard the common proverb saith, that a friend is more necessary than either fire or water. Therefore a flatterer is ready to put himself forward, and offereth his service with all double diligence, striving in all occasions and businesses to be ever prompt and officious. And because the principal thing that linketh and bindeth friendship sure at the beginning, is the conformity and likeness of manners, studies, endeavours, and inclinations, and in one word, seeing that to be like affected, and to shew pleasure or displeasure in the same things, is the chief matter that knitteth amity and both combineth, and also keepeth men together, by a certain mutual correspondence in natural affections: the flatterer knowing so much, composeth his nature (as it were) some unformed matter ready to receive all sorts of impressions, studying to frame and accommodate himself wholly to all those things that he taketh in hand; yea, and to resemble those persons just by way of imitation whom he meaneth to set upon and deceive, as being supple, soft, and pliable, to represent them lively in every point, so as a man may say of him after this manner:

> Achilles' son think you he is?
> Nay, even Achilles himself iwis.

But the craftiest cast of all other that he hath is this, that seeing (as he doth) liberty of speech (both in truth and also according to the opinion and speech of the whole world) to be the proper voice of friendship (as a man would say) of some living creature; insomuch, as where there is not this freedom of speaking frankly, there is no true friendship nor generosity indeed. In this point also he will not seem to come short, nor leave it behind for want of imitation; but after the fashion of fine and excellent cooks, who use to serve up tart, bitter and sharp sauces together with sweet and pleasant meats, for to divert and take away the satiety and fulness which soon followeth them, these flatterers also use a certain kind of plain and free speech; howbeit, neither sincere and natural is it, nor profitable, but (as we commonly say) from teeth outward, or (as it were) beckoning and winking slightly with the eye under the brows, not touching the quick, but tickling aloft only, to no purpose.

Well, in these respects above specified, hardly and with much ado is a flatterer discovered, and taken in the manner; much like unto those beasts who by nature have this property, to change their colour, and in hue to resemble that bodily matter or place whereon they settle, and which they touch. Seeing then it is so, that he is so apt to deceive folk, and lieth hidden under the likeness of a friend; our part it is, by unfolding the differences that are so hidden, to turn him out of his masking habit, and being despoiled of those colours and habiliments that he borroweth of others, for want of his own (as Plato saith), to lay him naked and open to the eye: let us therefore enter into this discourse, and fetch it from the very first beginning.

We have already said that the original of friendship among men (for the most part) is our conformity of nature and inclination, embracing the same customs and manners, loving the same exercises, affecting the same studies, and delighting in the same actions and employments: concerning which these verses well and fitly run:

> Old folk love best with aged folk to talk,
> And with their feers young children to disport:
> Women once met, do let their tongues to walk,
> With sick likewise, sick persons best do sort:
> The wretched man his miseries doth lament
> With those whose state like fortunes do torment.

The flatterer, then, being well aware that it is a thing naturally inbred in us, to delight in those that are like ourselves, to converse with them, and to use and love them above all others, endeavoureth first and foremost to draw and approach, yea, and to lodge near unto him whom he meaneth to enveigle and compass, even as if he went about in some great pasture to make toward one beast, whom he purposeth to tame and bring to hand, by little and little joining close unto him, as it were, to be concorporated in the same studies and exercises, in the same affections, employments and course of life: and this he doth so long, until the party whom he layeth for, have given him some advantage to take hold by, as suffering himself gently to be touched, clawed, handled, and stroked; during which time, he letteth slip no opportunity to blame those persons, to reprove those things and courses of life which he perceiveth the other to hate: contrariwise, to praise and approve all that which he knoweth him to take delight in: and this he doeth not after an ordinary manner and in a mean, but excessively and beyond all measure, with a kind of admiration and wonder; confirming

this love or hatred of his to a thing, not as if he had received these impressions from some sudden passion, but upon a staid and settled judgment.

Which being so: how and by what different marks shall he be known and convinced that he is not the like or the same in deed, but only a counterfeit of the like and of the same? First, a man must consider well whether there be an uniform equality in all his intentions and actions or no? whether he continue and persist still, taking pleasure in the same things, and praising the same at all times? whether he compose and direct his life according to one and the same mould and pattern? like as it becometh a man who is an ingenuous lover of that friendship and conversation which is ever after one manner, and always like itself: for such a one indeed is a true friend. But a flatterer contrariwise is one who hath no one permanent seat in his manners and behaviour, nor hath made choice of any life for his own content, but only to please another, as framing and applying his actions wholly to the humour of another, is never simple, uniform, nor like himself, but variable and changing always from one form to another, much like as water which is poured out of one vessel into another, even as it runneth forth, taketh the form and fashion of that vessel which receiveth it. And herein he is clean contrary to the ape; for the ape as it should seem, thinking to counterfeit a man, by turning, hopping, and dancing as he doth, is quickly caught: but the flatterer, whiles he doth imitate and counterfeit others, doth entice and draw them, as it were, with a pipe or call, into his net, and so beguileth them. And this he doeth not always after one manner; for with one he danceth and singeth; with another he will seem to wrestle, or otherwise to exercise the body in feats of activity: if he chance to meet with a man that loveth to hunt, and to keep hounds, him he will follow hard at heels, setting out a throat as loud in a manner as Hippolytus in the tragedy *Phædra*, crying,

> So ho, this is my joy and only good,
> With cry to lure, with tooting horn to wind,
> By leave of gods to bring into the wood
> My hounds, to rouse and chase the dapple hind.

And yet hath he nothing to do at all with the wild beasts of the forest, but it is the hunter himself whom he layeth for to take within his net and toil. And say that he light upon a young man that is a student and given to learning, then you shall see him also as deep poring upon his book, and always in his study;

you shall have him let his beard grow down to his foot, like a grave philosopher: who but he then, in his side threadbare student's cloak, after the Greek fashion, as if he had no care of himself, nor joy of anything else in the world: not a word then in mouth, but of the numbers, orthangles and triangles of Plato. If peradventure there fall into his hands an idle do-nothing, who is rich withal, and a good fellow, one that loveth to eat and drink and make good cheer,

> That wily fox Ulysses though
> His ragged garments will off do,

off goes then his bare and overworn studying gown, his beard he causeth to be cut and shorn as near as a new mown field in harvest, when all the corn is gone: no talk then but of flagons, bottles, pots, and cooling pans to keep the wine cold: nothing now but merry conceits to move laughter in every walking place and gallery of pleasure: Now he letteth fly frumps and scoffs against scholars and such as study philosophy.

Thus by report it fell out upon a time at Syracuse: For when Plato thither arrived, and Denys all on a sudden was set upon a furious fit of love to philosophy, his palace and whole court was full of dust and sand, by reason of the great recourse thither of students in geometry, who did nothing but draw figures therein. But no sooner had Plato incurred his displeasure and was out of favour: no sooner had Denys the Tyrant bidden philosophy farewell, and given himself again to belly-cheer, to wine, vanities, wantonness, and all looseness of life: but all at once it seemed the whole court was transformed likewise (as it were by the sorcery and enchantment of Circes) into hatred and detestation of good letters; so as they forgat all goodness, and betook themselves to folly and sottishness.

To this purpose it were not amiss for to allege as testimonies the fashions and acts of some notorious flatterers, such, I mean, as have governed commonwealths and affected popularity. Among whom the greatest of all other was Alcibiades, who all the while he was at Athens used to scoff, and had a good grace in merry conceits and pleasant jests: he kept great horses, and lived in jollity, most gallantly, with the love and favour of all men: when he sojourned in Sparta, he went always shaven to the bare skin, in an overworn cloak, or else the same very coarse, and never washed his body but in cold water. Afterwards, being in Thrace, he became a soldier, and would carouse and drink lustily with the best. He came no sooner to Tissaphernes

in Asia, but he gave himself to voluptuousness and pleasure, to riot, wantonness, and superfluous delights: Thus throughout the whole course of his life he won the love of all men, by framing himself to their humours and fashions wheresoever he came. Such were not Epaminondas and Agesilaus: For albeit they conversed with many sorts of people, travelled divers cities, and saw sundry fashions and manners of strange nations; yet they never changed their behaviour, they were the same men still, retaining evermore a decent port which became them, in their apparel, speech, diet, and their whole carriage and demeanour. Plato likewise was no changeling, but the same man at Syracuse that he was in the academy or college at Athens: and look, what his carriage was before Dion, the same it was and no other in Denys his court.

But that man may very easily find out the variable changes of a flatterer, as of the fish called the pourcuttle, who will but strain a little and take the pains to play the dissembler himself, making shew as if he likewise were transformed into divers and sundry fashions; namely in misliking the course of his former life, and suddenly seeming to embrace those things which he rejected before, whether it be in diet, action or speech: For then he shall soon see the flatterer also to be inconstant, and not a man of himself, taking love or hatred to this or that, joying or grieving at a thing, upon any affection of his own that leadeth him thereto, for that he receiveth always as a mirror the images of the passions, motions and lives of other men.

If you chance to blame one of your friends before him, what will he say by and by? Ah well, you have found him out I see now at last, though it were long first: Iwis I liked him not, a great while ago: Contrariwise, if your mind alter, so that you happen to fall a praising of him again: Very well done, will he say, and bind it with an oath, I con you thank for that: I am very glad for the man's sake, and I believe no less of him. Do you break with him about the alteration of your life, and bear him in hand that you mean to take another course, as for example, to give over state affairs, to betake yourself to a more private and quiet life. Yea, marry (quoth he), and then you do well, it is more than high time so to do: For long since we should have been disburdened of these troubles so full of envy and peril. Make him believe once that you will change your copy, and that you are about to shake off this idle life, and to betake yourself unto the commonweal, both to rule and also to speak in public place: you shall have him to soothe you

up and second your song, with these and such-like responds: A brave mind (believe me) and beseeming a man of your worth and good parts: For to say a truth, this idle and private life, though it be pleasant, and have ease enough, yet it is but base, abject, and dishonourable; when you find him there once, muffle his nose immediately with this posy:

> Good sir, methinks you soon do turn your style,
> You seem much chang'd from him you were erewhile.

I have no need of such a friend, that will alter as I do, and follow me every way (for my shadow can do that much better); I had rather have one that with me will follow the truth, and judge according to it and not otherwise. Avaunt, therefore, I will have nought to do with thee. Thus you see one way to discover a flatterer.

A second difference we ought to observe in his imitations and resemblances, for a true friend doth not imitate all that he seeth him whom he loveth to do; neither is he forward in praising everything, but that only which is best: For according to Sophocles:

> In love he would his fellow be,
> But not in hate and enmity.

And verily one friend is ready and willing to assist another in well-doing and in honest life, and never will yield to be companion in lewdness, or help him to commit any wicked and heinous fact; unless peradventure through the ordinary conversation, and continual acquaintance together, he be tainted with infection of some ill quality and vicious condition, even against his will and ere he be well aware: much like as they who by contagion catch rheumatic and bleared eyes: or as the familiar friends and scholars (by report) of Plato did imitate him in stooping forward: and those of Aristotle in his stammering and maffing speech; and the courtiers of Alexander the Great in bending of his neck and rough voice when he spake.

For even so, some there be who receive impression of their manners and conditions at unawares and against their wills. But contrariwise, it fareth with a flatterer even as with the chameleon; for as he can take upon him any colour save only white; semblably, a flatterer cannot possibly frame himself to anything that good is and of importance: but there is no naughtiness and badness in the world which he will not quickly imitate. And well I may compare such fellows to ill painters, who when through insufficiency in their art they be not able to

draw to the life, the beauty and favour of a good face, will be sure yet to express the rivels, warts, moles, freckles, scars and such-like deformities. For even so a flatterer can imitate very passing well, incontinency, foolish superstition, hastiness and choler, bitterness towards household servants, distrust and diffidence in friends and kinsfolk, yea, and treachery against them: for that by nature he is always inclined to the worse; and besides, so far he would be thought from blaming vice, that he undertaketh to imitate the same. For those that seek for amendment of life and reformation of manners are ever suspected: such (I say) as shew themselves displeased and offended at the faults and misdemeanours of their friends. And this was it that made Dion odious to Denys the Tyrant, Samius to Philip, and Cleomenes to Ptolemæus, and in the end was their ruin and overthrow.

The flatterer who desireth to be both pleasant and faithful at once, or at leastwise so to be reputed, for excessive love and friendship that he pretendeth, will not seem to be offended with his friend for any lewd parts, but in all things would be thought to carry the same affection, and to be in manner of the same nature and incorporate into him: whereupon it cometh to pass also that even in casual things and the occurrences of this life, which happen without our will and counsel, he will needs have a part, there is no remedy. This, if he be disposed to flatter sick persons, he will make as though he were sick also of the same disease for company: and if he have to do with such as be dimsighted or hard of hearing, he will be thought neither to see nor hear well for fellowship. Thus the flatterers about Denys the Tyrant, when he had an impediment in his eyes that he could not see clearly, feigned that themselves likewise were half blind, and to make it good, hit one upon another at the board, and overthrew the dishes upon the table as they sate at supper.

Others there be that proceed farther than so, and because they would appear more touched with a fellow-feeling of affections, will enter as far as to the very inward secrets that are not to be revealed. For if they can perceive that they whom they do flatter be not fortunate in their marriage, or that they are grown into distrust, jealousy, and sinister opinion, either of their own children or their near kinsfolk and familiars; they spare not themselves but begin to complain, and that with grief of heart and sorrow of their own wives and children, of their kindred and friends, laying abroad some criminous matters, which were better (iwis) to be concealed and smothered, than

uttered and revealed. And this resemblance and likeness that they take upon themselves causeth them to seem more affectionate and fuller of compassion. The other then, thus flattered, thinking that by this means they have received from them a sufficient pawn and assurance of their fidelity, stick not to let fall from their mouth some matter of secrecy also; and when they have once committed it unto them, then they are ever after bound to use them, yea, and be afraid to mistrust them in anything. I myself knew one who seemed to put away his own wedded wife because his friend whom he flattered had divorced his before: and when he had so done, was known to go secretly unto her, and messengers there were who passed to and fro between them underhand: which the divorced wife of the other perceived and found out well enough. Certes, little knew he what a flatterer was, and he had no experience of him who thought these iambic verses to express the sea-crab better than him:

> A beast whose body and belly are meet,
> The eye doth serve each way to see:
> With teeth it creeps, they stand for feet,
> Aread now what creature this may be?

For this is the very portraiture and image of a parasite, who keeps about the frying-pan (as Eupolis saith) of his good friends, and waiteth where the cloth is laid.

But as touching these things, let us refer them to their proper place for to be discoursed more at large. Howbeit, for the present let us not leave behind us one notable device and cunning cast, that a flatterer hath in his imitations; to wit, that if he do counterfeit some good quality that is in him whom he doth flatter, yet he giveth him always the upper hand: For among those that be true friends there is no emulation at all, no jealousy or envy between one and another; but whether they be equal in well-doing or come behind, they take all in good part and never grieve at the matter. But the flatterer, bearing well in mind that he in every place is to play the second part, yieldeth always in his imitation the equality from himself, and doth affect to counterfeit another so as he will be the inferior, giving the superiority unto the other in all things but those which are naught, for therein he challengeth to himself the victory over his friend. If he be somewhat malcontent and hard to be pleased, then will the flatterer profess himself to be stark melancholic: if his friend be somewhat too religious or superstitious, then will he make semblance as though he were

rapt and transported altogether with the fear of the gods: If the other be amorous, he will be in love furious: when the other saith I laughed a good; but I (will he say again) laughed until I was well near dead. But in good things it is clean contrary, for when he speaketh of good footmanship he will say, I run swiftly indeed; but you fly away. Again, I sit a horse and ride reasonable well; but what is that to this hippo-centaur here for good horsemanship? Also, I have a pretty gift in poetry (I must needs say) and am not the worst versifier in the world; but

> To thunder verses I have no skill,
> To Jupiter there leave that I will:

In these and such-like speeches two things at once he doth: for first he seemeth to approve the enterprise of the other as singular good, because he doth imitate him; and secondly, he sheweth that his sufficiency therein is incomparable and not to be matched, in that he confesseth himself to come short of him. And thus much of the different marks between a flatterer and a friend as touching their resemblances.

Now, forasmuch as there is a community of delectation and pleasure in them both (as I have said before), for that an honest man taketh no less joy and comfort in his friends than a lewd person in flatterers, let us consider likewise the distinction between them in this behalf. The only way to distinguish them asunder in this point is to mark the drift and end of the delectation, both in the one and the other; which a man may see more clearly by this example: There is in a sweet ointment an odoriferous smell; so is there also in an antidote or medicine; but herein lieth the difference, for that in the ointment abovesaid there is a reference to pleasure only, and to nothing else; but in the antidote, beside the delectation that the odour yieldeth, there is a respect also of some medicinable virtue, namely, either to purge and cleanse the body, or to heat and chafe it, or else to incarnate and make new flesh to come.

Again, painters do grind and mix fresh colours and lively tinctures; so the apothecary hath drugs and medicines of a beautiful and pleasant colour to the eye, that it would do a man good to look upon them. But wherein is the difference? Is there any man so gross that conceiveth not readily that the odds lieth in the use or end for which both the one and the other be ordained? Semblably the mutual offices and kindnesses that pass from friend to friend, beside the honesty and profit that they have, bring with them also that which is pleasing

and delectable, as if some dainty and lively flowers grew thereupon: For sometime friends use plays and pastimes one with another: they invite one another, they eat and drink together: yea, and otherwhiles (believe me) you shall have them make themselves merry and laugh heartily, jesting, gauding, and disporting one with another; all which serve as pleasant sauces to season their other serious and honest affairs of great weight and consequence. And to this purpose serve well these verses:

> With pleasant discourses from one to another
> They made themselves merry, being met together.

Also:

> And nothing else disjoined our amity,
> Nor parted our pleasures and mutual jollity.

But the whole work of a flatterer, and the only mark that he shooteth at, is always to devise, prepare, and confect, as it were, some play or sport, some action and speech, with pleasure and to do pleasure. And to knit up all briefly in one word, he is of opinion that he ought to do all for to be pleasant: whereas the true friend, doing always that which his duty requireth, many times pleaseth, and as often again he is displeasant: not that his intention is to displease at any time; howbeit, if he see it expedient and better so to do, he will not stick to be a little harsh and unpleasant. For like as a physician, when need requireth, putteth in some saffron or spikenard into his medicine: yea and otherwhile permitteth his patient a delicate bath, or liberal and dainty diet to his full contentment: but sometimes for it again, leaving out all sweet odours, casteth in *castoreum*,

> Or *polium* which strong scent doth yield,
> And stinks most of all herbs in field,

or else he bruiseth and stampeth some ellebore, and forceth his patient to drink of that potion: not proposing either in the former medicine pleasure, nor in the latter displeasure for the end: but both by the one and the other training the sick person under his hand to one and the same effect of his cure, to wit, his good and the health of his body; even so it is with a true friend: one while with praises and gracious words he extolleth and cheereth up his friend, inciting him thereby always to that which is good and honest, as he in Homer:

> Dear heart, Sir Teucer, worthy son
> Of Telamon that knight,
> Come, prince and flower of valiant knights,
> Shoot thus your arrow's flight.

And another:

> How can I ever put out of mind
> Heavenly Ulysses, a prince so kind?

Contrariwise, another while where there is need of chastisement and correction, he will not spare but use sharp and biting words: yea, and that free speech which carrieth with it an affection careful to do good, and such as indeed beseemeth a tutor and governor, much after this manner:

> What, Menelaus! however that
> From Jupiter you descend:
> You play the fool, for folly such
> I cannot you commend.

It falleth out so likewise, that sometime he addeth deeds to words. And thus Menedemus shut the door against the son of Asclepiades his friend, and would not deign once to salute him, because he was a riotous youth, and lived dissolutely and out of all order: by which means he was reclaimed from loose life, and became an honest man. Arcesilaus in like manner excluded Battus out of his school, and would not suffer him to enter, because in a comedy that he composed, he had made one verse against Cleanthes; but afterwards, Battus repenting of that he had done, and making satisfaction unto Cleanthes, was pardoned and received again into his favour. For a man may offend his friend with intention to do him good; but he must not proceed so far in displeasing him that thereby he break or undo the knot of friendship: he ought (I say) to use a sharp rebuke, as a physician doth some bitter or tart medicine, to save or preserve the life of his patient.

And a good friend is to play the part of a musician, who to bring his instrument into tune and so to keep it, setteth up these strings, and letteth down those: and so ought a friend to exchange profit with pleasure, and use one with another, as occasion serveth, observing this rule, oftentimes to be pleasing unto his friend, but always profitable: whereas the flatterer, being used evermore to sing one note, and to play upon the same string, that is to say, to please: and in all his words and deeds to aim at nothing else but the contentment of him whom he flattereth, cannot skill either in act to resist, or in speech to reprove and offend him; but goeth on still in following his humour, according always with him in one tune, and keeping the same note just with him.

Now, as Xenophon writeth of King Agesilaus, that he was well apaid to be commended of them who he knew would

also blame him if there were cause; so we are to think well of friendship when it is pleasant, delightsome, and cheerful, if otherwhiles also it can displease and cross again; but to have in suspicion the conversation and acquaintance of such as never do or say anything but that which is pleasing, continually keeping one course without change, never rubbing where the gall is, nor touching the sore, without reproof and contradiction. We ought (I say) to have ready always in remembrance the saying of an ancient Laconian, who hearing King Charilaus so highly praised and extolled; And how possibly (quoth he) can he be good who is never sharp or severe unto the wicked? The gadfly (as they say) which useth to plague bulls and oxen, settleth about their ears, and so doth the tick deal by dogs: after the same manner, flatterers take hold of ambitious men's ears, and possess them with praises; and being once set fast there, hardly are they to be removed and chased away.

And here most needful it is that our judgment be watchful and observant, and do discern whether these praises be attributed to the thing or the person; we shall perceive that the thing itself is praised, if they commend men rather absent than in place: also if they desire and affect that themselves which they do so like and approve in others: again, if they praise not us alone, but all others, for the semblable qualities: likewise, if they neither say nor do one thing now, and another time the contrary. But the principal thing of all other is this, If we ourselves know in our own secret conscience that we neither repent nor be ashamed of that for which they so commend us; nor yet wish in our hearts that we had said or done the contrary: for the inward judgment of our mind and soul bearing witness against such praises, and not admitting thereof, is void of affections and passions, whereby it neither can be touched nor corrupted and surprised by a flatterer. Howbeit, I know not how it cometh about, that the most part of men cannot abide nor receive the consolations which be ministered unto them in their adversities, but rather take delight and comfort in those that weep, lament and mourn with them: and yet the same men having offended or being delinquent in any duty, if one come and find fault or touch them to the quick therefore, do strike and imprint into their hearts remorse and repentance, they take him for no better than an accuser and enemy: contrariwise, let one highly commend and magnify that which they have done; him they salute and embrace, him they account their well-willer and friend indeed.

Now, whosoever they be that are ready to praise and extol with applause and clapping of hands that which one hath done or said, were it in earnest or in game; such (I say) are dangerous and hurtful for the present only, and in those things which are next hand: but those who with their praises pierce as far as to the manners within, and with their flatteries proceed to corrupt their inward natures and dispositions, I can liken unto those slaves or household servants who rob their masters, not only of that corn which is in the heap and lieth in the garners, but also of the very seed; for the inclination and towardness of a man are the seed that bring forth all his actions, and the habitude of conditions and manners are the very source and head from whom runneth the course of our whole life, which they pervert in giving to vices the names of virtues.

Thucydides in his story writeth: That during civil seditions and wars men transferred the accustomed significations of words unto other things, for to justify their deeds: for desperate rashness, without all reason, was reputed valour, and called love-friend: provident delay and temporising was taken for decent cowardice: modesty and temperance was thought to be a cloak of effeminate unmanliness: a prudent and wary circumspection in all things was held for a general sloth and idleness. According to which precedent we are to consider and observe in flatterers how they term prodigality by the name of liberality; cowardice is nothing with them but heedful wariness: brain-sickness they entitle promptitude, quickness, and celerity: base and mechanical niggardise they account temperate frugality. Is there one full of love and given to be amorous? him they call good fellow, a boon-companion, a man of a kind and good nature. See they one hasty, wrathful, and proud withal? him they will have to be hardy, valiant and magnanimous: contrariwise, one of a base mind and abject spirit they will grace with the attribute of fellow-like, and full of humanity. Much like to that which Plato hath written in one place: That the amorous lover is a flatterer of those whom he loveth. For if they be flat-nosed like a shoeing-horn, such they call lovely and gracious: be they hawk-nosed like a griffin, Oh, that is a kingly sight, say they: those that be black of colour are manly: white of complexion be God's children. And as for the term *melichrüs*, that is, honey-coloured, it is always (verily) a flattering word, devised by a lover, to mitigate and diminish the odiousness of a pale hue, which he seemeth by that sweet name not to mislike, but to take in the best part. And verily, if he

that is foul and ill-favoured be borne in hand that he is fair and beautiful, or one of small and low stature made believe that he is goodly and tall; he neither continueth long in this his error, neither is the damage that he sustaineth thereby grievous and great, nor unrecoverable: but the praises which induce and inure a man to believe that vice is virtue, insomuch that he is nothing at all discontented in his sin and grieved therefore, but rather taketh pleasure therein: those also which take away from us all shame and abashment to commit faults; such were they that brought the Sicilians to ruin, and gave them occasion to beautify or colour the tyranny and cruelty of Denys and Phalaris with the goodly names of justice and hatred of wickedness: These were the overthrow of Egypt, in cloaking the effeminate wantonness, the furious superstition, the yelling noises after a fanatical manner of King Ptolemæus, together with the marks that he carried of lilies and tabours in his body, with the glorious names of devotion, religion, and the service of the gods.

And this was it that at the same time went very near and had like to have corrupted and spoiled for ever the manners and fashions of the Romans, which before were so highly reputed, to wit, naming the riotousness of Antony, his looseness, his superfluous delights, his sumptuous shews and public feasts, with their profusion and wasting of so much money, by smooth and gentle terms of courtesies, and merriments full of humanity, by which disguisements and pretexts his fault was mollified or diminished in abusing so excessively the grandeur of his puissance and fortune. And what was it else that made Ptolemæus to put on the mask or muzzle (as it were) of a piper, and to hang about him pipes and flutes? What was it that caused Nero to mount up the stage to act tragedies, with a vizor over his face and buskins on his legs? was it not the praise of such flatterers as these? And are not most of our kings being when they sing small and fine, after a puling manner, saluted Apollos for their music: and if they drink until they be drunk, honoured with the names of Bacchus, the god of wine: and when they seem a little to wrestle or try some feats of activity, styled by and by with the glorious addition of Hercules, brought (think you) to exceeding dishonour and shame by this gross flattery, taking such pleasure as they do in these gallant surnames.

And therefore we had most need to beware of a flatterer in the praises which he giveth, which himself is not ignorant of,

but being careful and very subtle in avoiding all suspicion, if haply he meet with one of these fine fools and delicate minions, well set out in gay apparel: or some rustical thick-skin, carrying on his back a good leather pilch; or (as they say) one that feedeth grossly: such he will not spare, but abuse with broad flattery, and make common laughing-stocks of them: Like as Struthias, making a very ass of Bias, and riding him up and down, yea, and insulting upon him for his sottishness with praises that he would seem to hang upon him: Thou hast (quoth he) drunk more than King Alexander the Great, and with that, turning to Cyprius, laughed as hard as ever he could till he was ready to sink again.

But if a flatterer chance to deal with them that be more civil and elegant, and do perceive that they have a special eye unto him in this point, namely, that they stand well upon their guard in this place for fear lest they be surprised by him: then he goes not to work directly in praising of them, but he keepeth aloof, he fetcheth about many compasses a great way off at first, afterwards by little and little he winneth some ground and approacheth nearer and nearer, making no noise until he can touch and handle them, much after the manner of those that come about wild beasts, assaying how to bring them to hand and make them tame and gentle. For one while he will report to such a one the praises that some other give out of him: imitating herein the rhetoricians who many times in their orations speak in the third person, and after this manner he will begin: I was not long since (quoth he) in the market-place, where I had some talk with certain strangers and other ancient personages of good worth, whom I was glad at the heart to hear how they recounted all the good in the world of you, and spake wonderfully in your commendation. Otherwhiles he will devise and fetch out of his own fingers' ends some light imputations against him, yet all forged and false, agreeable to his person and condition, making semblance as if he had heard others what they said of him, and very cunningly will he close with him, and bear him in hand that he is come in all haste to know of him, whether ever he said or did so as was reported of him: And if the other do deny it (as it is no other like but he will), thereupon he takes occasion to enter into the praise and commendation of the man in this wise: I marvel truly how that you should abuse and speak ill of any of your familiars and friends, who were never wont so much as to miscall or say otherwise than well of your very enemies? or how it possibly could be that you

should be ready to gape after other men's goods, who use to be so liberal and bountiful of your own?

Other flatterers there be, who like as painters do set up their colours and to give them more beautiful light and lustre unto them, lay near unto them others that be more dark and shadowy: so they, in blaming, reproving, reproaching, traducing and deriding the contrary virtues to those vices which are in them whom they mean to flatter, covertly and underhand do praise and approve those faults and imperfections that they have, and so in praising and allowing, do feed and cherish the same: As, for example, if they be among prodigal ding-thrifts and wasters, riotous persons, covetous misers, mischievous wretches, and such as have raked and scraped goods together by hook and crook, and by all indirect means they care not how: before them they will speak basely of temperance and abstinence, calling it rusticity: and as for those that live justly and with a good conscience, contenting themselves with their estate, and therein reposing sufficance, those they will nickname heartless and base-minded folk, altogether insufficient to do or dare anything. If it fall out that they converse and be in company with such as be idle lusks and love to sit still at home and do nothing, forbearing to meddle with ordinary affairs abroad in the world: they will not bash to find fault with policy and civil government, calling the managing of state matters and commonweal a thankless intermeddling in other men's affairs, with much travail and no profit. And as for the mind and desire to be a magistrate and to sit in place of authority, they will not let to say it is vainglory and ambition, altogether fruitless. For to flatter and claw an orator they will reprove in his presence a philosopher. Among light huswives that be wantonly given, they win the price, and are very well accepted, if they call honest matrons and chaste dames (who content themselves with their own husbands, and them love alone) rude and rustical women, untaught, ill bred, unlovely and having no grace with them.

But herein is the very height of wickedness, that these flatterers for advantage will not spare their own selves: For like as wrestlers debase their own bodies and stoop down low otherwhiles, for to overthrow their fellows that wrestle with them, and to lay them along on the ground; so in blaming and finding many faults with themselves they wind in and creep closely to the praise and admiration of others: I am (quoth one of them) a very coward, and no better than a very slave at sea; I can away with no labour and travail in the world; I am all

in a heat of choler, and raging mad, if I hear that one hath given me any bad terms; marry, as for this man (meaning him whom he flattereth), he casteth doubts at no peril and danger, all is one with him, sea or land, he can endure all hardness, and he counteth nothing painful, no hurt there is in him, a singular man he is, and hath not his fellow, he is angry at nothing, he beareth all with patience. But say he meet with one at a venture, which standeth upon his own bottom, and hath some great opinion of his own sufficiency for wit and understanding, who hath a desire to be austere, and not to depend upon the conceits of others, but resteth in his own judgment; and upon a certain uprightness in himself, eftsoons hath these verses in his mouth:

> Sir Diomede, do not me praise
> So much to more or less,
> Nor out of measure me dispraise,
> I love not such excess.

This flatterer, then, who is his own craftsmaster and hath thoroughly learned his trade, goeth not the old way to work in setting upon him, but he hath another engine and device in store to assail such a grim sir withal. He will make an errand to him for counsel in his own affairs, as being the man whom he esteemeth to have more wit and wisdom than himself. There be divers others (quoth he) with whom I have better acquaintance and familiarity than with yourself: Howbeit, sir, I am forced of necessity to make bold and to importune you a little: For whither else should we ingram men repair that have need of advice? and to whom are we to have recourse in matters of trust and secrecy? And then, after he hath heard once what he will say, and it makes no matter what it be; he will take his leave, saying that he hath received not counsel from a man, but an oracle from some god. Now before he departeth, if haply he perceive that he taketh upon him good skill and insight in literature, he will present unto him some compositions of his own penning, praying him withal to peruse them, yea, and to correct the same. Mithridates, the king, affected and loved the art of physic very well: by reason whereof some of his familiar friends about him came and offered themselves to be cut and cauterised by him: which was a mere flattery in deed and not in word. For it seemed that they gave great testimony of his skill, in that they put their lives into his hands:

> Of subtile spirits, thus you may see,
> That many forms and shapes there be.

But this kind of dissimuled praises, requiring greater and more wary circumspection to be taken heed of, if a man would detect and convince, he ought of purpose, when he is tempted and assailed with such flattery, to obtrude and propose unto the flatterer absurd counsel, if he seem to demand and ask it: advertisements also and precepts of the same kind, yea, and corrections without all sense and to no purpose, when he shall offer his labours to be read and perused: In so doing, if he perceive the party suspected to be a flatterer, doth not gainsay nor contradict anything, but alloweth of all and receiveth the same, yea, and more than that, when he shall to every point cry out and say, Oh, well said and sufficiently: O excellent wit: be sure then he is caught in a trap: then I say it will be found plainly according to the common byword,

> That when he did a watchword crave,
> Some other thing he sought to have:
> Or as we say (in proverb old),
> Draff was his errand, but drink he would;

that is to say, he waited for some occasion and opportunity by praising to puff him up with vanity and overweaning of himself. Moreover, like as some have defined painting to be a mute poesy; even so praising is a kind of silent and secret flattery. Hunters (we see), then, soonest deceive the poor beasts, when they seem to do nothing less than to hunt, making semblance as though they either travelled like wayfaring men, or tended their flocks, or else tilled the ground. Semblably flatterers touch those whom they flatter nearest and enter to the very quick by praising, when they make no shew thereof, but seem to do nothing less than praise. For he that giveth the chair and seat to another coming in place, or as he is making an oration either in public place before the people or in council house to the senate, breaketh off his own speech, and yieldeth unto him his room, giving him leave to speak or to opine, and remaineth silent himself: by this his silence sheweth that he doth repute the other a better man and of more sufficiency for wisdom and knowledge than himself, much more than if he should pronounce and ring it out aloud to the whole audience.

And hereupon it is that this sort of people who make profession of flattery, take up ordinarily the first and highest seats, as well at sermons and public orations whither men flock to hear, as at the theatres and shew places, not that they think themselves worthy of such places, but because they may rise and make room for better and richer persons as they come, and thereby

flatter them kindly. This we see also, that in solemn assemblies and great meetings or auditories they are by their good wills the first that put themselves forth and make offer to begin speech; but it is for nothing else but that afterward they would seem to quit the place and give assent to their betters, soon retracting their own opinions, when they hear a mighty man, a rich or noble personage in authority to contradict and say the contrary. And here we ought most of all to be circumspect and wary, that we may evict them of this, that all this courting, this giving place, this yielding of the victory and reverence made unto others, is not for any more sufficiency that they acknowledge in them, for their knowledge, experience and virtues; nor yet for their worthiness in regard of elder age, but only for their wealth, riches, credit, and reputation in the world.

Megabysus,[1] a great lord belonging to the king's court of Persia, came upon a time to visit Apelles the painter: and sitting by him in his shop to see him work, began of his own accord to discourse I wot not what, of lines, shadows and other matters belonging to his art: Apelles hearing him, could not hold, but said unto him; See you not, sir, these little prentice boys here that grind ochre and other colours? So long as you sate still and said never a word, they advised you well and their eye was never off, wondering to see your rich purple robes, your chains and jewels of gold, no sooner began you to speak but they fell to teighing, and now they laugh you to scorn, talking thus as you do of those things which you never learned. And Solon, being demanded once by Crœsus, King of Lydia, what men he had seen whom he reputed most happy in this world? named unto him one Tellus, none of the great men of Athens, but a good plain and mean citizen, Cleobis also and Biton: and these he said were of all others most fortunate. But these flatterers will affirm that kings and princes, rich men and rulers, are not only blessed, happy, and fortunate; but also excel all others in wisdom, knowledge and virtue. There is not one of them that can endure so much as to hear the Stoics, who hold that the sage and wise man (such a one as they depaint unto us) ought all at once to be called rich, fair, noble, yea, and a king: whereas our flatterers will have the rich man only, whom they are disposed to flatter, to be an orator and a poet; yea, and if he will himself, a painter, a good piper, passing light of foot and strong of limbs; insomuch, as whosoever wrestleth with him shall be sure to take the foil and lie along; and whomsoever he runneth with

[1] Pliny reporteth this of King Alexander, and not of Megabysus.

in the race, he shall come behind him a fair deal, but how? Surely even as Crisson, the Himeræan, lagged for the nonce behind King Alexander the Great, when he ran with him for the best game: for which the king was highly displeased and wroth at him, when he once perceived it. Carneades was wont to say that the sons of kings and great rich men learned to do nothing well and right, but only to sit and ride an horse. For that their masters are wont to flatter and praise them in all their schools where they be taught: for if they be at the exercise of wrestling, you shall have him that wrestleth with them of purpose to take a fall and lie under them: Marry, the horse, not knowing nor having the reason to discern a private man's son from a prince; nor whether he be poor or rich that sits upon his back, will be sure to cast him over his head and lay him along, whosoever he be, that cannot skill how to hold and rule him. Bion, therefore, was but a very lob and fool in saying thus: If I wist that with praising a piece of ground I could make it good, rich and fertile, it should want for no praises; and rather would I commend it than toil and moil in digging, tilling, and doing work about it. And yet I will not say that a man is to blame and doth amiss in praising: if so be that those who are praised be the better and more fruitful in all good things for it. Howbeit, to come again into the ground before said; a field being praised never so much is not the worse nor less fertile therefore: but I assure you they that commend folk falsely, and beyond their desert and due, puff them full of wind and vanity, and work their overthrow in the end. But now, having discoursed sufficiently upon this article and point of praises, let us proceed forward to treat of frankness and liberty of speech.

And verily meet and reason it had been, that as Patroclus, when he put on the armour of Achilles and brought forth his horses of service to battle, durst not meddle with his spear Pelias, but left it only untouched; so a flatterer also, although he mask and disguise himself with other habits, ornaments and ensigns of a friend, should let this liberty only of speech alone, and not once go about to touch or counterfeit it, as being indeed

> A baston of such poise and weight,
> So big withal, so stiff and straight,

that of all others it belongeth only to friendship for to be carried and wielded by it. But forasmuch as our flatterers nowadays are afraid to be detected in laughing in their cups, in their jests, scoffs, and gamesome mirth; therefore to avoid such discovery,

they have learned forsooth to knit and bend the brows, they can skill, iwis, to flatter, and yet look with a frowning face and crabbed countenance, they have the cast to temper with their glavering glozes some rough reprehensions and chiding checks among: let us not overpass this point untouched, but consider and examine the same likewise. For mine own part I am of this mind: That as in a comedy of Menander there comes in a counterfeit Hercules to play his part upon the stage with a club on his shoulder, that is (you may be sure) nothing massive, heavy, stiff and strong, but some device and gawd, hollow and empty within, made of brown paper or such-like stuff; Even so, that plain and free speech which a flatterer useth will be found light, soft, and without any strength at all to give a blow: much like (to say truly) unto the soft bed pillows that women lie on, which seeming full and plump to resist and bear out against their heads, yield and sink under the same so much the more: For after the same manner this counterfeit free speech of theirs puffed up full of wind, or else stuffed with some deceitful light matter, seemeth to rise up, to swell, and bear out hard and stiff, to the end that being pressed down once (and both sides as it were coming together) it might receive, enlap and enfold him that chanceth to fall thereupon, and so carry him away with it. Whereas the true and friendly liberty of speech indeed taketh hold of those that are delinquent and do offend, bringing with it a kind of pain for the time, which notwithstanding is wholesome and healthful: resembling herein the nature of honey, which being applied to a sore or ulcerous place, at the first doth smart and sting; but it doth cleanse and mundify withal, and otherwise is profitable, sweet, and pleasant.

But as touching this plain dealing and frank speech, I will write a part of purpose in place convenient. As for the flatterer, he maketh shew at the first, that he is rough, violent, and inexorable in all dealings with others: For over his servants he carrieth a hard hand, and is not pleased with their service, with his familiars, acquaintance and kinsfolk he is sharp and eager, ready to find fault with everything; he maketh no reckoning nor account of any man but himself; he despiseth and disdaineth all the world besides; there is not a man living that he will pardon and forgive; he blameth and accuseth every one; and his whole study is to win the name and reputation of a man that hateth vice, and in that regard careth not whom he doth provoke, and whose displeasure he incur: as who for no good in the world would be hired to hold his tongue, nor willingly

forbear to speak plainly the truth; who with his goodwill would never speak or do anything to soothe up and please another: Then will he make semblance as though he neither saw nor took knowledge of any great and gross sins indeed: but if peradventure there be some light and small outward faults, he will make foul ado thereat, he will keep a wondering and crying out upon them: then shall you have him in good earnest exclaim and reprove the delinquent with a loud and sounding voice: As, for example, if he chance to espy the implements or anything else about the house lie out of order; if a man be not well and neatly lodged; if his beard be not of the right cut, or his hair grow out of fashion; if a garment sit not handsomely about him, or if a horse or hound be not so carefully tended as they should be. But say that a man set nought by his parents, neglect his own children, misuse his wife, disdain and despise his kindred, spend and consume his goods; none of all these enormities touch and move him: Here he is mute and hath not a word to say; he dares not reprove these abuses: much like as if a master of the wrestling school, who suffereth a wrestler that is under his hand to be a drunkard and a whoremonger, should chide and rebuke him sharply about an oil cruse or curry-comb; or as if a grammarian should find fault with his scholar and chide him for his writing-tables or his pen, letting him go away clear with solecisms, incongruities and barbarisms, as if he heard them not.

Also I can liken a flatterer to him who will not blame an ill author, or ridiculous rhetorician in anything as touching his oration itself; but rather reproveth him for his utterance, and sharply taketh him up for that by drinking of cold water he hath hurt his wind-pipe, and so marred his voice; or to one who being bidden to read over and peruse a poor seely epigram or other writing that is nothing worth, taketh on and fareth against the paper wherein it is written, for being thick, coarse or rugged; or against the writer, for negligent, slovenly or impure otherwise. Thus the claw-backs and flatterers about King Ptolemæus, who would seem to love good letters, and to be desirous of learning, used ordinarily to draw out their disputations and conferences at length, even to midnight, debating about some gloss or signification of a word, about a verse, or touching some history: but all the while there was not one among so many of them that would tell him of his cruelty, of his wrongs and oppressions, nor yet of his drumming,[1] tabouring,

[1] τυμπανίζοντος καὶ τελεοῦντος. Some expound it, beating his subjects with cudgels, and oppressing them with excessive exactions.

and other enormous indignities, under the colour of religion; and seek to reform him. Certes, a foolish fellow were he who, coming to a man diseased with tumours, swellings, impostumes, or hollow ulcers, called *fistulae*, should with a chirurgeon's lancet or barber's razor, fall to cut his hairs or pare his nails; even so it fareth with these flatterers, who apply their liberty of speech to such things as neither are in pain nor yet do any hurt.

Moreover, some others there be of them, who being more cunning and crafty than their fellows, use this plainness of language and reprehension of theirs for to please and make sport withal. Thus Agis the Argive, seeing how Alexander the Great gave very great rewards and gifts to a certain pleasant and odd fellow that was a jester, cried out for very envy and dolour of heart, O great abuse and monstrous absurdity: The king hearing it, turned about unto him in great displeasure and indignation, demanding of him what he had to say? I confess (quoth he) indeed that I am grieved, and I think it a great indignity, when I see all you that are descended from Jupiter and his sons, to take pleasure in flatterers and jesters about you, for to make you merry. For even so Hercules took a delight to have in his company certain ridiculous Cercopes, and Bacchus had ever in his train the Silenes. In your court likewise, a man may see such to be in credit and highly esteemed.

When Tiberius Cæsar, the emperor, upon a certain day was come into the senate house of Rome, one of the senators who knew how to flatter, arose and stood up, and with a good loud voice; Meet it is (quoth he), O Cæsar, that men free born should likewise have the liberty of speech, and speak their minds frankly, without dissimuling or concealing anything which they know to be good and profitable: with this speech of his he stirred up the attention of the whole house, so as they gave good ear unto him, and Tiberius himself listened what he would say. Now when all was still and in great silence; Hearken (quoth he), O Cæsar, what it is that we all accuse and blame you for, but no man dare be so bold as to speak it out: You neglect yourself, and have no regard of your own person; you consume and spoil your body with continual cares and travels for our sake, taking no rest nor repose either day or night. Now when he had drawn out a long train of words to this purpose, Cassius Severus, a rhetorician, stood up, and by report said thus; Such liberty of speech as this will be the utter undoing of this man.

But these flatteries are of the lighter sort, and do less hurt: there be other more dangerous which work the mischief and

corruption of those who are not wise, and take no heed unto them; namely, when flatterers set in hand to reprove them whom they flatter, for the contrary vices to those that be in them. Thus Himerius the flatterer reproached a certain rich man of Athens, the veriest pinching miser and the most covetous withal that was in the whole city, with the imputations of prodigality, and negligence about his own profit and gain; charging him that one day he would smart for it, and both he and his children be hunger-starved for want wherewith to sustain themselves, if he looked no better to his thrift: or when they object miserable niggardise and beggary unto those that are known to be prodigal spenders, and consume all. After which manner Titus Petronius reproved Nero.

Again, if they come to princes and great lords, who deal cruelly and hardly with their subjects and tenants, saying unto them, that they must lay away this overmuch lenity and foolish pity of theirs, which neither is seemly for their persons, nor yet profitable for their state. And very like to these is he who maketh semblance to him who is a very senseless sot and foolish fool, that he stands in great fear and doubt of him, lest he should be circumvented by him, as if he were some cautelous, crafty and cunning person. He also that doth rebuke another, who is an ordinary slanderer, who taketh pleasure (upon spite and envy) to be ever railing on all men, and backbiting them, if he chance any one time to break out into the praise of some worthy and excellent personage, saying in this manner unto him; This is a great fault that you have, and a disease that followeth you, thus to praise men of no worth: What is he (I pray you) whom you thus commend? what good parts be in him? hath he at any time done any doughty deed, or delivered any singular speech that might deserve such praises?

But in amatorious and love matters they pass: there you shall have them most of all to come over those whom they flatter and lay on load; to them they will join close, and set them on a flaming fire. For if they see brethren at some variance, or setting nought by their parents, or else to deal unkindly with their own wives, and to set no store by them, or to be jealous and suspicious of them; they never admonish, chastise or rebuke them for it, that they may amend, but rather they will kindle more coals between, and encrease their anger and discontentment on both sides: Nay, it is no great matter (will they say), it is even well enough; you will never see and know who you are; you are the cause of all this your own self;

and self do, self have; you evermore have borne yourselves so pliable, submiss and lowly toward them, but you are but rightly served. But say there be some itching heat of love, or smart anger upon jealousy, in regard of a courtesan or married wife, whom the party is amorous of; then shall you see a flatterer ready at hand to display his cunning openly, and to speak his mind freely unto him, putting fire to fire and feeding his love; you shall have him to lay the law upon this lover, accusing and entering process against him in these terms: You have broken the laws of love; you have done and said many things not so kindly as beseemed a true lover, but rather dealt hardly with your love, and enough to lose her heart, and incur her hatred for ever:

> Unthankful person that thou art,
> For kisses so many of thy sweetheart.

Thus the flattering friends of Antonius, when he burned in love of the Egyptian queen Cleopatra, would persuade and make him believe that she it was who was enamoured upon him, and by way of opprobrious imputation they would tell him to his face that he was proud, disdainful, hard-hearted, and void of all kind affection. This noble queen (would they say) forsaking so mighty and wealthy a kingdom, so many pleasant palaces, and stately houses of blessed abode, such means and opportunities of happiness, for the love of you pineth away, and consumeth herself, trudging after your camp to and fro, for to do your honour content and pleasure with the habit and title of your concubine,

> Whiles you in breast do carry an heart
> Which will not be wrought by any art,

neglecting her (good lady) and suffering her to perish for sorrow and heart's grief. Whereupon he being well enough pleased to hear himself thus charged with wrong-doing to her, and taking more pleasure in these accusations of theirs than if they had directly praised him, was so blind that he could not see how they that seemed thus to admonish him of his duty, perverted and corrupted him thereby so much the more. For this counterfeit liberty of plain dealing and plain speech may be very well likened to the wanton pinches and bitings of luxurious women who tickle and stir up the lust and pleasure of men by that which might seem to cause their pain. For like as pure wine, which otherwise of itself is a sure remedy against the poison of hemlock, if a man do mingle it with the juice of the said hemlock,

doth mightily enforce the poison thereof, and make it irremediable, for that by means of the heat it conveyeth the same more speedily unto the heart; even so these lewd and mischievous flatterers, knowing full well that frank speech is a singular help and remedy against flattery, abuse it to flatter withal. And therefore it seemeth that Bias answered not so well as he might have done, to one that asked of him, which was the shrewdest and most hurtful beast of all other: If (quoth he) your question be of wild and savage, a tyrant is worse; if of tame and gentle, a flatterer. For he might have said more truly; that of flatterers some be of a tame kind, such (I mean) as these parasites are who haunt the bains and stoups; those also that follow good cheer and keep about the table. As for him who (like as the pourcuttle fish stretcheth out his claws like branches) reacheth as far as to the secret chambers and cabinets of women, with his busy intermeddling, with his calumniations and malicious demeanours, such a one is savage, fell, intractable, and dangerous to be approached.

Now one of the means to beware of this flattery is to know and remember always that our soul consisteth of two parts, whereof the one is addicted to the truth, loving honesty and reason; the other more brutish, of the own nature unreasonable, given to untruth and withal passionate. A true friend assisteth evermore the better part, in giving counsel and comfort, even as an expert and skilful physician, who hath an eye that aimeth always at the maintenance and increase of health: but the flatterer doth apply himself, and settleth to that part which is void of reason and full of passions: this he scratcheth, this he tickleth continually, this he stroketh and handleth in such sort, by devising some vicious and dishonest pleasures, that he withdraweth and turneth it away quite from the rule and guidance of reason. Moreover, as there be some kind of viands, which if a man eat they neither turn unto blood nor engender spirits, nor yet add vigour and strength to the nerves and the marrow; but all the good they do is haply to cause the flesh or genital parts to rise, to stir and loose the belly, or to breed some foggy, phantom and half-rotten flesh, which is neither fast nor sound within; even so, if a man look nearly and have good regard unto a flatterer, he shall never find that all the words he useth, minister or procure one jot of good to him that is wise and governed by reason; but feed fools with the pleasant delights of love; kindle and augment the fire of inconsiderate anger; provoke them unto envy; breed in them an odious and vain pre-

sumption of their own wit; increase their sorrow and grief, with moaning them and lamenting with them for company; set on work and exasperate their inbred naughtiness and lewd disposition; their illiberal mind and covetous nature; their diffidence and distrustfulness of others; their base and servile timidity, making them always worse, and apt to conceive ill; more fearful, jealous and suspicious, by the means of some new accusations, false surmises and conjectural suggestions, which they be ready to put into their heads. For evermore it getteth closely into some vicious passion and affection of the mind, and there lurketh; the same it nourisheth and feedeth fat, but anon it appeareth like a botch, rising eftsoons upon the corrupt, diseased or inflamed parts of the soul. Art thou angry with one? punish him (saith he): Hast thou a mind to a thing? buy it, and make no more ado: Art thou never so little afraid? let us fly and be gone: Suspectest thou this or that? believe it confidently (saith he).

But if peradventure, he can hardly be seen and discovered about these passions, for that they be so mighty and violent that oftentimes they chase and expel all use of reason, he will give some vantage to be sooner taken in others that be not so strong and vehement, where we shall find him always the same and like himself. For say a man do suspect that he hath taken a surfeit, either by over-liberal feeding or drinking heady wine, and upon that occasion make some doubt to bathe his body, or to eat presently again and lay gorge upon gorge (as they say): A true friend will advise him to forbear and abstain; he will admonish him to take heed to himself and look to his health: In comes a flatterer, and he will draw him to the bain in all haste; he will bid him to call for some novelty or other to be set upon the board, willing him to fall fresh to it again, and not to punish his body and do himself injury by fasting and refusing his meat and drink: Also if he see him not disposed to take a journey by land or voyage by sea, or to go about any enterprise, whatsoever it be, slowly and with an ill will, he will say unto him; either that there is no such great need, or the time is not so convenient, but it may be put off to a farther day, or it will serve the turn well enough to send others about it.

Now if it fall out so, that he having made promise to some familiar friend either to lend or let him have the use of some money, or to give him it freely, do change his mind and repent of his promise; but yet be somewhat abashed and ashamed thus to break his word; the flatterer by and by will put himself

to the worse and lighter end of the balance, and make it weigh downe on the purse side, soon excluding and cutting off all shame for the matter: What, man! (will he say), spare your purse and save your silver; you are at a great charge; you keep a great house, and have many about you which must be maintained and have sufficient; in such sort, that if we be not altogether ignorant of ourselves, and wilfully blind, not seeing that we be covetous, shameless, timorous and base-minded, we cannot choose but start and find out a flatterer; neither is it possible that he should escape us. For surely he will evermore defend and maintain these imperfections, and frankly will he speak his mind in favour thereof, if he perceive us to over-pass ourselves therein. But thus much may suffice as touching these matters.

Let us come now to the uses and services that a flatterer is employed in: For in such offices he doth confound, trouble, and darken much the difference between him and a true friend; shewing himself in appearance always diligent, ready and prompt in all occurrences, without seeking any colourable pretences of shifting off, and a refusing to do anything. As for a faithful friend, his whole carriage and behaviour is simple, like as be the words of truth, as saith Euripides, without welts and guards, plain without plaits, and nothing counterfeit: whereas the conditions of a flatterer, to say a truth,

> By nature are diseased much,
> And medicines needful are for such,

not only with wisdom to be ministered and applied, but also many in number, and those (I assure you) of a more exquisite making and composition than any other. And verily as friends many times when they meet one another in the street, pass by without good-morrow or god-speed, or any word at all between them; only by some lightsome look, cheerful smile, or amiable regard of the eye reciprocally given and taken, without any other token else, there is testified the goodwill and mutual affection of the heart within: whereas the flatterer runneth toward his friend to meet him, followeth apace at his heels, spreadeth forth both his arms abroad, and that afar off, to embrace him: and if it chance that he be saluted and spoken to first, because the other had an eye on him before, he will with brave words excuse himself, yea, and many times call for witnesses, and bind it with great oaths good store, that he saw him not.

Even so likewise in their affairs and negotiations abroad in the world, friends omit and overslip many small and light things, not searching narrowly into matters, not offering or expecting again any exquisite service; nothing curious and busy in each thing, nor yet putting themselves forward to every kind of ministry: but the flatterer is herein double diligent, he will be continually employed and never rest, without seeming at any time to be weary, no place, no space nor opportunity will he give the other to do any service; he looketh to be called unto and commanded; and if he be not bidden, he will take it ill and be displeased; nay, you shall have him then out of heart and discouraged, complaining of his ill fortune, and protesting before God and man, as if he had some great wrong done unto him. These be evident marks and undoubted arguments to such as have wit and understanding, not of a friendship sound, sober and honest, but rather smelling of wanton and whorish love, which is more ready to embrace and clip than is decent and seemly. Howbeit, to examine the same more particularly, let us consider what difference there is between a flatterer and a friend, as touching the offers and promises that they make. They who have written of this theme before us, say very well that a friend's promise goeth in this form:

> If that I can, or if it may be done,
> Fulfil I will your mind, and that right soon.

But the offer of a flatterer runneth in this manner:

> What would you have? say but the word to me,
> Without all doubt effected it shall be.

For such frank promisers and braggers as these the poets also use to bring unto the stage in their comedies, after this sort:

> Now of all loves, Nicomachus, this I crave,
> Set me against this soldier here so brave,
> I will so swinge his coat, you shall it see,
> That like a pompion his flesh shall tender be:
> His face, his head I shall much softer make,
> Than is the spunge that grows in sea or lake.

Moreover, you shall not see a friend offer his helping hand or aid in any action, unless he were called before to counsel, and his opinion asked of the enterprise, or that he have approved and set down the same upon good advisement, to be either honest or profitable: whereas the flatterer, if a man should do him so much credit, as to require his consent and approbation, or otherwise request him to deliver his opinion of the thing, he,

not only upon a desire to yield unto others and to gratify them, but also for fear to give any suspicion that he would seem to draw back and avoid to set his hand to any work or business whatsoever, is ready with the foremost to apply himself to the appetite and inclination of another, yea and withal, pricketh and inciteth him forward to enter upon it. And yet lightly you shall find even of rich men and kings but few or none who can or will come forth with these words:

> Would God some one that needy is and poor,
> Yea, worse than he that begs from door to door,
> Would come to me (so that he were my friend)
> Without all fear, and speak to me his mind.

But nowadays it is far otherwise; for they are much like unto composers of tragedies, who will be provided of a quire or dance of their friends to sing with them, or desire to have a theatre of purpose to give applause and clap their hands unto them. And verily, whereas Merope in a certain tragedy giveth these sage and wise advertisements:

> Take those for friends, I rede, and hold them so,
> Whose speech is sound, and waves not to and fro:
> But those that please thy mind in word and deed,
> Count lewd, and such lock forth of door with speed:

our potentates and grand seigneurs do clean contrary; for such as will not follow their humours, and soothe them up at every word, but gainsay their courses, in making remonstrance of that which is more profitable and expedient; such they disdain and will not vouchsafe them a good look. But for those wicked wretches, base-minded varlets, and cozening impostors, who can curry favour, they not only set their doors wide open for such, and receive them into their houses, but they admit them also to conferences with their inward affections and the very secrets of their heart. Among whom you shall have one more plain perhaps and simple than the rest, who will say that it is not for him, neither is he worthy to deliberate and consult of so great affairs; marry, he could be content, and would take upon him, to be a poor servitor and minister, to execute whatsoever were concluded and enjoined him to do: another more crafty and cunning than his fellows, is willing enough to be used in counsel, where he will hear all doubts and perils that be cast; his eyebrows shall speak if they will, his head and eyes shall nod and make signs, but his tongue shall not speak a word: Say that the party whom he mindeth to flatter do utter his mind and what he thinketh good to do: then

will he cry out aloud and say, By Hercules, I swear it was at my tongue's end to have said as much, had you not prevented me and taken the word out of my mouth, I would have given you the very same counsel. For like as the mathematicians do affirm that the superficial and outward extremities, the lines also of the mathematical bodies, do of themselves and in their own nature neither bend nor stretch, nor yet move at all: for that they be intellectual only or imaginary, and not corporal, but according as the bodies do bow, reach or stir, so do they; so you shall ever find that a flatterer will pronounce, opine, think and be moved to anger, according as he seeth another before him.

And therefore in this kind, most easy it is to observe the difference between a flatterer and a friend. But yet more evident you shall see it in the manner of doing service. For the offices and kindnesses which come from a friend are ever best, and (as living creatures) have their most proper virtues inwardly, carrying least in shew, and having no outward ostentation of glorious pomp. And as it falleth out many times a physician cureth his patient, and sayeth little or nothing at all unto him, but doth the deed ere he be aware; even so, a good friend, whether he be present or departed from his friend, doth him good still, and taketh care for him when he full little knoweth of it. Such a one was Arcesilaus the philosopher, who beside many other kind parts which he shewed unto his friend Apelles, the painter of Chios, coming one day to visit him when he was sick, and perceiving how poor he was, went his way for that time: and when he returned again, brought twenty good drachms with him: and then, sitting close unto Apelles by his bedside: Here is nothing here (quoth he) I see well, but these four bare elements that Empedocles writeth of:

> Hot fire, cold water, sheer and soft:
> Gross earth, pure air that spreads aloft.

But methinks you lie not at your ease; and with that he removed the pillow or bolster under his head, and so conveyed underneath it privily the small pieces of coin aforesaid. The old woman his nurse and keeper, when she made the bed, found this money: whereat she marvelled not a little, and told Apelles thereof, who laughing thereat: This is (quoth he) one of Arcesilaus his thievish casts. And for that it is a maxim in philosophy, that children are born like their parents, one Lacydes, a scholar of Arcesilaus aforesaid, being assistant with many

others to a friend of his named Cephisocrates, when he came to his trial in a case of treason against the state: in pleading of which cause, the accuser his adversary called for Cephisocrates his ring, a pregnant evidence that made against him, which he had cleanly slipped from his finger and let it fall to the ground; whereof the said Lacydes being advised, set his foot presently over it, and so kept it out of sight: for that the main proof of the matter in question lay upon that ring. Now after sentence passed on Cephisocrates his side, and that he was cleanly acquit of the crime, he went privately to every one of the judges for to give them thanks: One of them who (as it should seem) had seen what was done, willed him to thank Lacydes: and with that told how the case stood, and how it went with him as it did: but all this while Lacydes himself had not said a word to any creature. Thus I think verily that the gods themselves do bestow many benefits and favours upon men secretly, and whereof they be not aware; being of this nature to take joy and pleasure in bountifulness and doing good.

Contrariwise, the office that a flatterer seemeth to perform, hath nothing in it that is just, nothing true, nothing simple, nothing liberal: only you shall see him sweat at it; you shall have him run up and down; keep a loud crying and a great ado, and set his countenance upon the matter, so as that he maketh right good semblance and shew that he doth especial service, taketh much care and pains about his business, and maketh haste to dispatch it: and much like are all his doings to a curious picture, which with strange colours, with broken plaits, wrinkles and angles, affecteth and striveth (as it were) to shew some lively resemblance. Moreover, much ado he maketh, and is troublesome in telling how he went to and fro, wandering here and there about the matter; also what a deal of care he took therein; how he incurred the evil will and displeasure of others; and a thousand hindrances, troubles and dangers, as besides he reckoneth up; insomuch as a man that heareth would say; All that ever he did was not worth so much as the twittle-twattle that he maketh. For surely a good turn that is upbraided in that wise, becometh burdensome, odious, and not thankfully accepted, but intolerable.

In all the offices and services of a flatterer you shall find these upbraidings and shameful reports, that would make one blush to hear them, and those not only after the deed done, but at the very instant when he is about it. But instead hereof, a true friend, if it fall out so, that he be forced and urged to relate

what is done, maketh a plain report and narration in modest manner; but of himself he will never say word. After which sort did the Lacedæmonians in times past, when they had sent corn unto the Smyrnæans, which, in their extreme necessity, they craved at their hands: For at what time as the men of Smyrna magnified, and wonderfully extolled this liberality of theirs, they returned this answer again: This is not so great a matter that it should deserve so highly to be praised or wondered at: for (say they) gathered we have thus much, and made this supply of your necessities, only by cutting ourselves and our labouring beasts short of one day's pittance and allowance. Bounty in this wise performed is not only gentleman-like and liberal indeed, but also more welcome and acceptable to the receivers; inasmuch as they think it was no great damage, nor much out of their way that did it. Furthermore, not only this odious fashion of doing any service with such pain and trouble, or the readiness to make offer and promise so quickly, doth principally bewray the nature of a flatterer: but herein also much more he may be discovered: for that a friend is willingly employed in honest causes: but a flatterer in shameful and dishonest: as also in the divers ends that they purpose; for the one seeketh to profit his friend, the other to please only. A friend, as Gorgias was wont to say, will never require that his friend should do him a pleasure, but in just things only: whiles a flatterer serveth his turn in many things that are unjust: For why?

> To do good deeds friends should be joint,
> But not to sin in any point;

whereas he should endeavour to avert and withdraw him from that which is not decent, or seemly: Now if it happen that the other will not be persuaded by him, then were it not amiss to say unto him, as Antipater once answered Phocion; You cannot have me to be a friend and flatterer too, (that is to say) a friend, and no friend. For one friend is to stand to another, and to assist him in doing, and not in misdoing, in consulting, and not in complotting and conspiring, in bearing witness with him of the truth, and not in circumventing any one by falsehood, yea, and to take part with him in suffering calamity, and not to bear him company in doing injury: For say that we may chance to be privy unto some shameful and reproachful deeds of our friend; yet we ought not to be party unto them therein, nor willing to aid them in any undecent action. For like as the Lacedæmonians being defeated in battle by King Antipater,

and treating with him about the capitulations and articles of peace, made request unto him that he would impose upon them what conditions he would himself, were they never so chargeable and disadvantageous unto them, but in no wise enjoin them to do any shameful indignity; even so a faithful friend ought to be so disposed, that if his friend's occasions do require any matter of expense, danger, or travail, he shew himself at the first call and holding up of his finger ready to come, and cheerfully to take his part and undergo the same, without any shifting off, or allegation of any excuse whatsoever: marry, if there be never so little shame or dishonour that may accrue thereby, he shall then refuse and pray him to hold him excused; he shall request pardon and desire to have leave for to be dismissed and depart in peace.

The flatterer is quite contrary: for in painful, difficult and dangerous affairs, which require his help and assistance, he draweth back, and is ready to pluck his neck out of the collar: if (I say) in this case you seem for trial sake to knock (as it were upon a pot) to see whether he be right, he will not ring clear; but you shall see by the dead sound of his pretended and forged excuses, that he is full of cracks and flaws: contrariwise, in dishonest, vile, base, and shameful ministeries, I am for you (will he say), I am yours to command; do with me what you will, tread me under your foot, abuse me at your pleasure: to be short, he will think nothing to be an ignominious indignity unto him. See you not the ape? good he is not to keep the house and to give warning of thieves, as dogs do; carry upon his back any burdens he cannot, like the horse; neither yet is he fit to draw or to plough the ground, as the ox doth; and therefore he beareth all kind of abuse and misusing, all wrongs, all unhappy sports and tricks that can be devised, serving only as an instrument of mockery, and a mere laughing-stock. Even so it fareth with a flatterer, being not meet to plead at the bar for a friend, to assist him in counsel, to lay his hand to his purse and supply his wants that way, nor to fight as his champion in maintenance of his quarrel, as one that can away with no labour, no painstaking, or serious employment; and in one word, fit for nothing that good is: marry, in such affairs as may be done under the arm, that is to say, which be close, secret and filthy services, he is the forwardest man in the world, and maketh no excuses. A trusty courier he is between, in love matters; in finding favour with a bawd and bringing a wench or harlot to your bed, he is excellent, and hath a marvellous

gift; to make the shot, and clear the reckoning of any sumptuous feast or banquet he is ready and perfect; in providing for a great dinner or supper, and setting the same forth accordingly, he is nothing slow, but nimble enough. To give entertainment unto concubines he is very handsome, obsequious and serviceable; if one bid him to speak audaciously and malapertly against a father-in-law, a guardian, tutor, or any such, or to put away his true espoused wife, like as he seeth his good master do before him, he is without all shame and mercy: so that even herein also it is no hard matter to see what kind of man he is, and how much he differeth from a true friend: For command him to commit what villany and wickedness you will, ready he is to execute the same, and so he may gratify and pleasure you that set him on work, he careth not to do any injury to himself.

There is, moreover, another means not of the least consequence, whereby a man may know how much a flatterer differeth from a friend indeed, namely, by his disposition and behaviour towards his other friends: for a true friend findeth contentment in nothing so much as to love many, and likewise to be loved of many; and herein he laboureth especially with his friend to procure himself many others to love and honour him: for being of this opinion, that among good friends all things are common, he thinketh that nothing ought to be more common than friends themselves. But the supposed, false, and counterfeit friend, being privy to his own conscience, that he doth great injury to true amity and friendship, which he doth corrupt in manner of a base piece of money: as he is by nature envious, so he exerciseth that envy of his upon such as be like himself, striving with a kind of emulation to surpass them in scurrile speech, giving of taunts and garrulity, but before such as he knoweth better than himself, he trembleth and is afraid, and in truth dare not come near nor shew his face to such an one, no more (I assure you) than a footman to go and keep pace (according to the proverb) with a Lydian chariot, or rather, as Simonides saith,

> Laid to fine gold tried clean from dross,
> He hath not so much as lead so gross.

Being compared with true, sound, and grave friendship, which (as they say) will endure the hammer, he cannot choose but find himself to be but light, falsified, and deceitful: seeing then that he must needs be detected and known for such an one as he is, what doth he, think you? Surely he playeth like an unskilful painter, who had painted certain cocks, but very

badly: For like as he gave commandment to his boy for to keep away natural and living cocks, indeed, far enough off from his pictures; so a flatterer will do what he can to chase away true friends, and not suffer them to approach near; or if he be not able so to do, then openly and in public place he will seem to curry favour with them, to honour and admire them, as far better than himself; but secretly, underhand, and behind their backs, he will not let to raise some privy calumniations, and sow slanderous reports tending to their discredit: but if he see that by such privy girds and pinches which will fret and gall the sore, he cannot at the first bring his purpose about: yet he remembreth full well and observeth the saying of Medius.

This Medius was the chief captain of the troupe, or the master rather of the quire (if I may so say) of all those flatterers that used the court of King Alexander the Great, and came about his person; the principal sophister also that opposed himself and banded against all good men, and never rested to slander and backbite them: This rule and lesson he taught his scholars and quiristers that were under his hand, To cast out slanders boldly, and not to spare, therewith to bite others: For (quoth he) although the sore may heal up again, yet the scar will remain and be ever seen. By these cicatrices and scars of false imputations, or (to speak more properly and truly) by such gangrenes and cankerous ulcers as these, Alexander the king being corroded and eaten, did to death Callisthenes, Parmenion, and Philotas, his fast and faithful friends: but to such as Agnon, Bagoas, Agesias and Demetrius were, he abandoned and gave himself wholly to be supplanted and overthrown at their pleasure, whiles he was by them adored, adorned, arrayed gorgeously with rich robes, and set out like a barbarian image, statue or idol. Lo, what is the force and power of flattery to win grace and favour; and namely in those who would be reputed the mightiest monarches and greatest potentates of the world, it beareth most sway: For such are persuaded, and desirous also, that the best things should be in themselves; and this is it that giveth both credit and also boldness unto a flatterer. True it is, I must confess, that the highest places and forts situate upon the loftiest mounts, are least accessible and most hard to be gained by those who would surprise and force them; but where there is an high spirit and haughty mind by nature, not guided by sound judgment of reason, but lifted up with the favours of fortune, or nobility of birth, it is the easiest matter in the world even for most base and vile persons

to conquer such, and the avenues to them lie ready and open, to give the vantage of easiest entrance.

And therefore, as in the beginning of this treatise I gave warning; so now I admonish the readers again in this place; That every man would labour and strive with himself to root out that self-love and overweening that they have of their own good parts and worthiness: For this is it that doth flatter us within, and possesseth our minds beforehand, whereby we are exposed and lie more open unto flatterers that are without, finding us thus prepared already for to work upon. But if we would obey the god Apollo, and by acknowledging how much in all things we ought to esteem that oracle of his, which commandeth us to know ourselves, search into our own nature, and examine withal our nouriture and education: when we find there an infinite number of defects, and many vanities, imperfections and faults, mixed untowardly in our words, deeds, thoughts and passions, we would not so easily suffer these flatterers to tread us under their feet, and make a bridge of us as they do at their pleasure.

King Alexander the Great was wont to say, that two things there were especially which moved him to have less belief in them who saluted and greeted him by the name of a god: The one was sleep, and the other the use of Venus: in both which he found that he was worse than himself, that is to say, subject to infirmities and passions more than in anything else: But if we would look into ourselves and ever and anon consider how many gross vices, troublesome passions, imperfections and defects we have, surely we shall find that we stood in great need, not of a false friend to flatter us in our follies, and to praise and extol us; but rather of one that would frankly find fault with our doings, and reprove us in those vices that each one privately and in particular doth commit. But very few there be among many others, who dare freely and plainly speak unto their friends, but rather soothe them up and seek to please them in everything: And even in those, as few as they be, hardly shall you find any that know how to do it well, but for the most part they think that they speak freely, when they do nothing but reprove, reproach and rail.

Howbeit, this liberty of speech whereof I speak is of the nature of a medicine, which if it be not given in time convenient and as it ought to be, besides that it doth no good at all, it troubleth the body, worketh grievance, and instead of a remedy proveth to be a mischief: For even so, he that doth reprehend and find

fault unseasonably, bringeth forth the like effect with pain as a flatterer doth with pleasure. For men are apt to receive hurt and damage, not only by overmuch praise; but also by inordinate blame when it is out of due time: for it is the only thing that of all others maketh them soonest to turn aside unto flatterers, and to be most easily surprised by them; namely, when from those things that stand most opposite and highest against them, they turn aside like water, and run down those ways that be more low, easy, and hollow. In which regard it behoveth that this liberty in fault-finding be tempered with a certain amiable affection, and accompanied with the judgment of reason, which may take away the excessive vehemency and force of sharp words, like the over-bright shining of some glittering light, and for fear lest their friends being dazzled as it were and frighted with the flashing beams of their rebukes, seeing themselves so reproved for each thing, and blamed every while, may take such a grief and thought thereupon, that for sorrow they be ready to fly unto the shadow of some flatterer, and turn toward that which will not trouble them at all. For we must avoid all vice (O Philopappus), and seek to correct the same by the means of virtue (and not by another vice contrary unto it) as some do; who for to shun foolish and rustical bashfulness, grow to be overbold and impudent; for to eschew rude incivility, fall to be ridiculous jesters and pleasants; and then they think to be farthest off from cowardice and effeminate tenderness, when they come nearest to extreme audacity and boasting bravery. Others there be who to prove themselves not to be superstitious, become mere atheists; and because they would not be thought and reputed idiots and fools, prove artificial coney-catchers. And surely in redressing the enormities of their manners, they do as much as those who, for want of knowledge and skill to set a piece of wood straight that twineth and lieth crooked one way, do curb and bend it as much another way.

But the most shameful means to avoid and shun the suspicion of a flatterer, is to make a man's self odious and troublesome without profit; and a very rude and rustical fashion this is, of seeking to win favour, and that with savour of no learning, skill, and civility, to become unpleasant, harsh, and sour to a friend, for to shun that other extreme, which in friendship seemeth to be base and servile; which is as much as if a freed slave newly franchised should in a comedy think that he could not use and enjoy his liberty of speech, unless he might be allowed licentiously

to accuse another without controlment. Considering, then, that it is a foul thing to fall to flattery, in studying to please, as also for the avoiding of flattery, by immoderate liberty of speech, to corrupt and mar, as well the grace of amity and winning love, as the care of remedying and reforming that which is amiss: and seeing that we ought to avoid both the one and the other: and as in all things else, so free speaking is to have the perfection from a mean and mediocrity; reason would, and by order it were requisite, that toward the end of this treatise we should add somewhat in manner of a corollary and complement, as touching that point.

Forasmuch as therefore we see that this liberty of language and reprehension hath many vices following it, which do much hurt: let us assay to take them away one after another, and begin first with blind self-love and private regards: where we ought especially to take heed that we be not seen to do anything for our own interest, and in respect of ourselves; and namely, that we seem not, for wrong that we have received ourselves, or upon any grief of our own, to reproach, upbraid, or revile other men: for they will never take it as done for any love or goodwill that we bear unto them, but rather upon some discontentment and heart-burning that we have, when they see that our speech tendeth unto a matter wherein we are interested ourselves; neither will they repute our words spoken by way of admonition unto them, but rather interpret them as a complaint of them. For surely the liberty of speech whereof we treat, as it respecteth the welfare of our friend, so it is grave and venerable; whereas complaints favour rather of self-love and a base mind. Hereupon it is that we reverence, honour, and admire those who for our good deliver their minds frankly unto us: contrariwise, we are so bold as to accuse, challenge and charge reciprocally, yea, and contemn those that make complaints of us. Thus we read in Homer, that Agamemnon, who could not bear and endure Achilles, when he seemed to tell him his mind after a moderate manner; but he was well enough content to abide and suffer Ulysses, who touched him near, and bitterly rebuked him in this wise:

> Ah wretch, would God some abject host
> Beside us, by your hand
> Conducted were; so that in field
> You did not us command.

As sharp a check as this was, yet being delivered by a wise man, proceeding from a careful mind, and tendering the good

of the commonweal, he gave place thereto, and kicked not again: for this Ulysses had no private matter nor particular quarrel against him, but spake frankly for the benefit of all Greece: whereas Achilles seemed to be offended and displeased with him principally, for some private matter between them twain. And even Achilles also himself, although he was never known for to be a man of a gentle nature and of a mild spirit,

> But rather of a stomach fell,
> And one who would accuse
> A guiltless person for no cause,
> And him full soon abuse,

endured Patroclus patiently, and gave him not a word again, notwithstanding he taunted and took him up in this wise:

> Thou merciless and cruel wretch,
> Sir Peleus, valiant knight
> Was never (sure) thy father true,
> Nor yet dame Thetis bright
> Thy mother kind: but sea so green,
> Or rocks so steep and hard
> Thee bare (thy heart of pity hath
> So small or no regard).

For like as Hyperides the orator required the Athenians (who complained that his orations were bitter) to consider of him, not only whether he were sharp and eager simply, but whether he were so upon no cause, nor taking any fee; even so, the admonition and reprehension of a friend, being sincere and cleansed pure from all private affection, ought to be reverenced: it carrieth (I say) authority with it, and no exceptions can well be taken, nor a man dare lift up an eye against it: in such sort, as if it appear that he who chideth freely, and blameth his friend, doth let pass and reject all those faults which he hath committed against him, and maketh no mention thereof, but toucheth those errors and misdemeanors only which concern others, and then spare him not, but pierce and bite to the quick: the vehemency of such free speech is invincible, and cannot be challenged, for the mildness and goodwill of the chastiser doth fortify the austerity and bitterness of the chastisement. Well therefore it was said in old time; That whensoever we are angry, or at some jar and variance with our friends, then most of all we ought to have an eye unto their good, and to study how to do somewhat that is either profitable unto them, or honourable for them.

And no less material is this also to the maintenance of friendship, if they that think themselves to be despised and not well

regarded of their friends, do put them in mind, and tell them frankly of others, who are neglected by them, and not accounted of as they should be. Thus dealt Plato with Denys, at what time he was in disgrace, and saw how he made no reckoning at all of him: For he came unto the tyrant upon a time, and requested that he might have a day of audience and leave to confer with him: Denys granted his request, supposing verily that Plato had a purpose to complain and expostulate with him in his own behalf, and thereupon to discourse with him at large: But Plato reasoned and debated the matter with him in this manner: Sir (quoth he), O Denys, if you were advertised and knew that some enemy or evil willer of yours were arrived and landed in Sicily, with a full intention to do you some displeasure, although he had no opportunity or means to execute and effect the same, would you let him sail away again and depart from Sicily with impunity, and before he were talked withal? I trow not, O Plato (quoth Denys), but I would look to him well enough for that: For we ought to hate and punish not the actions only, but the very purposes and intentions also of enemies. But how and if (quoth Plato again) on the contrary side; some other being expressly and of purpose come for mere love and affection that he beareth unto you, and fully minded to do you some pleasure, or to advise you for your good, you will give him neither time nor opportunity therefore; is it meet (think you) that he should be thus unthankfully dealt withal, or hardly entreated at your hands? With that Dionysius was somewhat moved, and demanded who that might be? Æschines (quoth Plato) is he, a man fair conditioned, and of as honest carriage and behaviour as any one that ever came out of Socrates' school, or daily and familiarly conversed with him; sufficient and able by his eloquence and pithy speech to reform the manners of those with whom he keepeth company: This Æschines (I say) having taken a long voyage over sea and arrived here, intending for to confer with you philosophically, is nothing regarded, nor set by at all. These words touched Denys so to the very quick, that presently he not only took Plato in his arms, embracing him most lovingly, and yielding him great thanks for that kindness, and highly admiring his magnanimity; but also from that time forward, entreated Æschines right courteously, and did him all the honour that he could.

Secondly, this liberty of speech which now is in hand, we ought to clear and purge clean from all contumelious and injurious words, from laughter, scoffs, and scurrile taunts, which are the

hurtful and unwholesome sauces (as I may say) wherewith many use to season their free language. For like as a chirurgeon, when he maketh incision and cutteth the flesh of his patient, had need to use great dexterity, to have a nimble hand and an even; yea, and everything neat and fine belonging to this work and operation of his: as for all dancing, gesticulations besides of his fingers, toyish motions, and superfluous agitation thereof, to shew the agility of his hand, he is to forbear for that time: So this liberty of speech unto a friend doth admit well a certain kind of elegancy and civility, provided always that the grace thereof retain still a decent and comely gravity, whereas if it chance to have audacious bravery, saucy impurity and insolency, to the hurt or hindrance of credit, it is utterly marred and looseth all authority.

And therefore it was not an unproper and unelegant speech, wherewith a musician upon a time stopped King Philip's mouth that he had not a word to say again: For when he was about to have disputed and contested against the said minstrel, as touching good fingering, and the sound of the several strings of his instrument: Oh, sir (quoth he), God forbid that ever you should fall to so low an estate as to be more cunning in these matters than I. But contrariwise, Epicharmus spake not so aptly and to the purpose in this behalf: For when King Hiero, who a little before had put to death some of his familiar acquaintance, invited him not many days after to supper. Yea, marry, sir, but the other day when you sacrificed, you bade not your friends to the feast. And as badly answered Antiphon, who upon a time when there was some question before Denys the Tyrant, what was the best kind of brass: Marry, that (quoth he) whereof the Athenians made the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton. Such speeches as these are tart and biting, and no good can come thereof, neither hath that scurrility and scoffing manner any delight, but a kind of intemperance it is of the tongue, mingled with a certain maliciousness of mind, implying a will to do hurt and injury, and shewing plain enmity, which as many as use, work their own mischief and destruction, dancing (as the proverb saith) a dance untowardly about a pit's brink, or jesting with edged tools. For surely it cost Antiphon his life, who was put to death by the said Denys. And Timagenes lost for ever the favour and friendship of Augustus Cæsar, not for any frank speech and broad language that ever he used against him; but only because he had taken up a foolish fashion at every feast or banquet, whereunto the

emperor invited him, and whensoever he walked with him, eftsoons and to no purpose he would come out with these verses in Homer:

> For naught else but to make some sport
> Among the Greeks he did resort;

pretending that the cause of that favour which he had with the emperor, was the grace and gift that he had in flouting and reviling others: and even the very comical poets in old time, exhibited and represented to the theatres many grave, austere, and serious remonstrances, and those pertaining to policy and government of state: but there be scurrile speeches intermingled among, for to move laughter, which (as one unsavoury dish of meat among many other good viands) mar all their liberty of speech and the benefit thereof; so as it is vain and doth no good at all: And even so the authors and actors of such broad jests get nothing thereby but an opinion and imputation of a malicious disposition and impure scurrility: and to the hearers there accrueth no good nor profit at all.

At other times and in other places, I hold well with it, and grant that to jest with friends and move laughter is tolerable enough: but surely the liberty of speech then ought to be serious and modest, shewing a good intention without any purpose to gall or sting. And if it do concern weighty affairs indeed, let the words be so set and couched, the affection so appear, the countenance be so composed, and the gesture so ordered, and the voice so tuned, that all concurring together may win credit to the speech, and be effectual to move. But as in all things else, fit opportunity overslipt and neglected doth much hurt; so especially it is the occasion that the fruit of free speech is utterly lost, in case it be omitted and forgotten. Moreover this is evident, that we must take heed how we speak broad at a table where friends be met together to drink wine liberally and to make good cheer: for he that amid pleasant discourses and merry talk moveth a speech that causeth bending and knitting of brows, or others, maketh men to frown and be frowning, he doth as much as overcast fair weather with a black and dark cloud; opposing himself unto that god Lyæus,[1] who by good right hath that name, as Pindarus the poet saith:

> For that the cord he doth untie
> Of cares that breed anxiety.

Besides, this neglect of opportunity bringeth with it great

[1] Some read Lydius.

danger; for that our minds and spirits, kindled once with wine, are easy enflamed with choler; yea, and oftentimes it falleth out, that a man after he hath taken his drink well, when he thinketh but to use his freedom of tongue for to give some wholesome advertisement and admonition, ministreth occasion of great enmity. And to say all in few words, it is not the part of a generous, confident, and resolute heart, but rather of a craven kind and unmanly, to forbear plain speech when men are sober, and to keep a-barking at the board, like unto those cowardly cur dogs who never snarl but about a bone under the table. And now of this point, needless it is to discourse any longer.

But forasmuch as many men neither will nor dare control and reform their friends when they do amiss, so long as they be in prosperity; as being of opinion that such admonition cannot have access nor reach into a fortunate state that standeth upright; and yet the same persons when men are falling, are ready to lay them along, and being once down, to make a foot-ball of them, or tread them under feet, or else keep them so when they be once under the hatches, giving their liberty of speech full scope to run over them all at once; as a breakwater which having been kept up perforce against the nature and course thereof, is now let go, and the flood-gates drawn up; rejoicing at his change and infortunity of theirs, in regard as well of their pride and arrogancy, who before disdained and despised them; as also of themselves, who are but in mean and low estate: it were not impertinent to this place for to discourse a little of this matter, and to answer that verse of Euripides:

> When fortune doth upon men smile,
> What need have they of friends the while?

Namely, that even then when as they seem to have fortune at command, they stand in most necessity, and ought to have their friends about them, to pluck down their plumes and bring under their haughtiness of heart, occasioned by prosperity: for few there be who with their outward felicity continue wise and sober in mind, breaking not forth into insolence; yea, and many there are who have need of wit, discretion and reason to be put into them from without, to abate and depress them being set agog and puffed up with the favours of fortune: But say that the divine power do change and turn about, and overthrow their state, or clip their wings and diminish their greatness and authority, then these calamities of themselves are scourges

sufficient, putting them in mind of their errors, and working repentance: and then in such distress there is no use at all either of friends to speak unto them frankly, or of pinching and biting speeches, to molest and trouble them, but to say a truth, in these mutations

> It greatly doth content our minds
> To see the face of pleasant friends,

who may yield consolation, comfort and strength to a distressed heart, like as Xenophon doth write, that in battles and the greatest extremities of danger, the amiable visage and cheerful countenance of Clearchus being once seen of the soldiers, encouraged them much more to play the men and fight lustily: whereas he that useth unto a man distressed, such plain speech as may gall and bite him more, doth as much as one who unto a troubled and inflamed eye applieth some quick eye-salve or sharp drug that is proper for to clear the sight: by which means he cureth not the infirmity beforesaid, neither doth he mitigate or allay the pain, but unto sorrow and grief of mind already addeth anger moreover, and doth exasperate a wounded heart.

And verily so long as a man is in the latitude of health, he is not so testy, froward, and impatient, but that he will in some sort give ear unto his friend, and think him neither rough nor altogether rude and uncivil, in case he tell him of his looseness of life, how he is given too much either unto women or wine; or if he find fault with his idleness and sitting still, or contrariwise his excessive exercise; if he reprove him for haunting so often the bains or hot-houses, and never lying out of them, or blame him for gormandise and belly cheer, or eating at undue hours. But if he be once sick, then it is a death unto him and a grief insupportable, which doth aggravate his malady, to have one at his bedside sounding ever in his ears; See what comes of your drunkenness, your idleness, your surfeiting and gluttony, your wenching and lechery, these are the causes of your disease. But what will the sick man say again: Away, good sir, with these unseasonable words of yours: you trouble me much, and do me no good iwis: I am about making my last will and testament; my physicians are busy preparing and tempering a potion of scammony, or a drink of *castoreum* for me: and you come preaching unto me with your philosophical reasons and admonitions to chastise me: I have no need of them now, nor of such friends as you. Semblably it fareth with those who are fallen to decay and be down the wind; for capable they

be not of sententious saws; they have no need as the case now stands of free reprehensions: then lenity and gentle usage, aid and comfort are more meet for them. For even so, kind nurses when their little babes and infants have caught a fall, run not by and by to rate or chide them, but to take them up, wash and make them clean where they were berayed, and to still them by all means that they can; afterwards they rebuke and chastise them for looking no better to their feet.

It is reported of Demetrius the Phalerian, when being banished out of his country, he lived at Thebes in mean estate and very obscurely, that at the first he was not well pleased to see Crates the philosopher, who came to visit him, as looking ever when he would begin with some rough words unto him, according to that liberty of speech which those cynic philosophers then used: but when he heard Crates once speak kindly unto him, and discoursing after a mild manner of the state of his banishment: namely, that there was no misery fallen unto him by that means, nor any calamity at all, for which he should vex and torment himself; but rather that he had cause to rejoice, in that he was sequestered and delivered from the charge and management of such affairs as were ticklish, mutable and dangerous; and withal exhorting him to pluck up his heart, and be of good cheer, yea, and repose all his comfort in his own self and a clear conscience. Then Demetrius being more lightsome, and taking better courage, turned to his friends and said, Shame take those affairs and businesses; out upon those troublesome and restless occupations, which have kept me from the knowledge and acquaintance of such a worthy man: For

> If men be in distress and grief,
> Sweet words of friends do bring relief:
> But foolish sots in all their actions,
> Have need eftsoons of sharp corrections.

And verily this is the manner of generous and gentle friends; but other base-minded and abject fellows, who flatter and fawn whiles fortune doth smile; like unto old ruptures, spasms, and cramps (as Demosthenes saith) do then stir and shew themselves, when any new accident happeneth unto the body, so they also stick close to every change and alteration of fortune, as being glad thereof, and taking pleasure and contentment therein. For, say that a man afflicted were to be put in mind of his fault and misgovernment of himself, by reason that he hath taken lewd courses and followed ill counsel, and so fallen

into this or that inconvenience, it were sufficient to say thus unto him:

> You never took by mine advice this course,
> Against the same how oft did I discourse?

In what cases and occurrences, then, ought a friend to be earnest and vehement? and when is he to use his liberty of speech, and extend it to the full? even then, when occasion is offered, and the time serveth best to repress excessive pleasure, to restrain unbridled choler, to refrain intolerable pride and insolency, to stay insatiable avarice, or to stand against any foolish habitude and inconsiderate motion. Thus Solon spake freely unto King Crœsus, when he saw how he was clean corrupted, and grown beyond all measure arrogant upon the opinion that he had of his felicity in this world, which was uncertain, advertising him to look unto the end. Thus Socrates clipped the wings of Alcibiades, and by convincing his vice and error, caused him to weep bitterly, and altered quite the disposition of his heart. Such were the remonstrances and admonitions of Cyrus to Cyaxares, and of Plato to Dion, even when he was in his greatest ruff, in the very height of his glory: when (I say) all men's eyes were upon him, for his worthy acts and great success in all affairs, willing him even then to take heed and beware of arrogancy and self-conceit, as being the vice that dwelleth in the same house together with solitude (that is to say) which maketh a man to live apart from the whole world. And to the same effect wrote Speusippus also unto him, when he bade him look to himself, and not take a pride and presume much upon this; That there was no talk among women and children but of him; rather that he should have a care so to adorn Sicily with religion and piety towards the gods, with justice and good laws in regard of men, that the school of the academy might have honour and credit by him. Contrariwise, Euctæus and Eulæus, two minions and favourites of King Perseus, who followed his vein and pleased his humour in all things, like other courtiers of his, all the while that he flourished, and so long as the world went on his side: but after he had lost the field in a battle against the Romans, fought near the city Pydna, and was fled, they let fly at him gross terms and reproachful speeches, bitterly laying to his charge all the misdemeanours and faults that he had before committed, casting in his dish those persons whom he had evil intreated or despised; which they ceased not to do so long, until the man (partly for sorrow,

and partly for anger) was so moved, that he stabbed them both with his dagger, and slew them in the place.

Thus much in general may suffice to determine and define as touching the opportunity of free speech to friends: meanwhile a faithful and careful friend must not reject such occasions as many times are presented unto him by them, but to take hold thereof quickly, and make good use of them: for otherwhiles it falleth out, that a demand or question asked, a narration related, a reprehension or commendation of like things in other persons, open the door and make way for us to enter, and giveth us leave to speak frankly. After this manner it is said that Demaratus took his vantage to utter his mind freely: who coming upon a time from Corinth to Macedonia, whenas King Philip was in some terms of dissension with his wife and son, was friendly received by Philip and bidden kindly welcome. Now after salutations and other compliments passed between, the king asked him whether the Greeks were at accord and unity one with another? Demaratus, as he was a friend very inward with him, and one that loved him heartily, answered thus; It becometh you well indeed, sir, to enquire of the concord and agreement between the Athenians and the Peloponnesians, when in the meanwhile you suffer your own house to be full of domestical quarrels and debates. Well did Diogenes likewise, who being come into the camp of King Philip, when he had an expedition or journey against the Greeks, was taken and brought before the king, who not knowing what he was, demanded of him if he were not a spy: Yes, marry (quoth he), and come I am to spy out your inconsiderate folly (O Philip) and want of forecast, who being not urged nor compelled by any man, are come thus far to hazard in one hour the state of your kingdom and your own life, and to lay all upon the chance and cast of a die.

But some man peradventure will say, This was a speech somewhat with the sharpest, and too much biting. Moreover, another fit time and occasion there is of admonition, when those whom we mind to reprove, having been reproached and taunted already by others for some faults which they committed, are become submiss and cast down to our hands. Which opportunity a wise and skilful friend will not omit, but make especial good use of: namely, by seeming in open place to check those that thus have slandered them, yea, and to repulse and put back such opprobrious imputations, but privately he will take his friend apart by himself, and put him in mind to live more

warily and give no such offence, if for no other thing else; yet because his enemies should not take vantage, and bear themselves insolently against him: For how shall they be able to open their mouths against you, and what misword can they have to say unto you, if you would leave these things and cast them behind you, for which you hear ill and are grown to some obloquy? In this sort if the matter be handled, all the offence that was taken shall light upon the head of the first slanderer, and the profit shall be attributed unto the other that gave the friendly advertisement, and he shall go away with all the thanks.

Some there be, moreover, who after a more cleanly and fine manner in speaking of others, admonish their own familiar friends: for they will accuse strangers in their hearing for those faults which they know them to commit, and by this means reclaim them from the same. Thus Ammonius, our master, perceiving when he gave lecture in the afternoon that some of us his scholars had taken a larger dinner, and eaten more than was meet for students, commanded a servant of his affranchised to take up his own son and to beat him, and why so? He cannot forsooth make his dinner (quoth he) but he must have some vinegar to his meat. And in saying so, he cast his eye upon us, in such sort that as many as were culpable took themselves to be rebuked, and thought that he meant them.

Furthermore, this good regard would be observed, that we never use this fashion of free speech, and reproving our friend in the presence of many persons, but we must remember that which befel unto Plato: for when upon a time Socrates in a disputation held at the table inveighed somewhat too bitterly against one of his familiars before them all: Had it not been better (quoth Plato) to have told him of this privately, but thus to shame him before all this company? But Socrates taking him presently therewith, And you also might have done better to have said this to myself, when you had found me alone. Pythagoras by report gave such hard terms by way of reproof to one of his scholars and acquaintance, in the hearing of many, that the young man for very grief of heart was weary of his life and hanged himself. But never would Pythagoras after to his dying day reprove or admonish any man, if another were in place.

And to say a truth, as well the detection as the correction of a sin ought to be secret, and not in public place, like as the discovery and cure also of some filthy and foul disease: it must

not, I say, be done in the view of the world (as if some shew or pomp were to be exhibited unto the people) with calling witnesses or spectators thereto. For it is not the part of a friend, but a trick of some sophister, to seek for glory in other men's faults, and affect outward shew and vain ostentation in the presence of others: much like to these mountebank chirurgeons, who for to have the greater practice, make shew of their cunning casts and operations of their art in public theatres, with many gesticulations of their handiwork. Moreover, besides that there should no infamy grow to him that is reproved (which indeed is not to be allowed in any cure or remedy), there ought also to be some regard had of the nature of vice and sin, which for the most part of itself is opinionative, contentious, stubborn, and apt to stand to it, and make means of defence. For as Euripides saith,

> We daily see not only wanton love
> Doth press the more when one doth it reprove.

But any vice whatsoever it be and every imperfection, if a man do reprove it in public place before many, and spare not at all, putteth on the nature of impudence and turneth to be shameless: like as therefore Plato giveth a precept, that elder folk, if they would imprint shame and grace in their young children, ought themselves first to shew shamefast behaviour among them; even so, the modest and bashful liberty of speech which one friend useth, doth strike also a great shame in another. Also to come and approach by little and little unto one that offendeth, and after a doubting manner with a kind of fear to touch him, is the next way to undermine the vice that he is prone and given unto, whiles he cannot choose but be modestly disposed, who is so modestly and gently entreated. And therefore it would be always very good in those reprehensions to observe what he did, who in like case reproving a friend,

> Held head full close unto his ear,
> That no man else but he might hear.

But less seemly and convenient it is for to discover the fault of the husband before his wife; of a father in the presence of his sons; of a lover before his love; or of a schoolmaster in the hearing of his scholars: that were enough to put them beside their right wits for anger and grief when they shall see themselves checked and discredited before those of whom they desire to be best esteemed.

And verily of this mind I am, that it was not the wine so

much that set King Alexander in such a chafe and rage against Clitus when he reproved him, as for that he did it in the presence and hearing of so many. Aristomenes also, the master and tutor of King Ptolemæus, for that in the sight of an ambassador he awaked him out of a sleep, and willed him to give ear unto the embassage that was delivered, ministered unto his evil-willers and the flatterers about the court great vantage, who thereupon took occasion to seem discontented in the king's behalf, and thus to say: What if after so many travels that your majesty doth undergo, and your long watching for our sakes, some sleep do overtake you otherwhiles; our part it were to tell you of it privately, and not thus rudely to lay hand as it were upon your person in the presence of so many men. Whereupon Ptolemæus being moved at these suggestions, sent unto the man a cup of poison, with commandment that he should drink it off. Aristophanes also casteth this in Cleon his teeth:

> For that when strangers were in place
> The town with terms he did disgrace,

and thereby provoke the Athenians and bring their high displeasure upon him. And therefore this regard would be had especially above all others, that when we would use our liberty of speech, we do it not by way of ostentation in a vainglory to be popular, and to get applause, but only with an intention to profit and do good, yea and to cure some infirmity thereby.

Over and besides that which Thucydides reporteth of the Corinthians, how they gave out of themselves and not unfitly, that it belonged unto them, and meet men they were to reprove others; the same ought they to have in them that will take upon them to be correctors of other persons. For like as Lysander answered to a certain Megarian who put himself forward in an assembly of associates and allies to speak frankly for the liberty of Greece: These words of yours (my friend) would beseem to have been spoken by some puissant state or city; even so it may be said to every one that will seem freely to reprehend another, that he had need himself to be in manners well reformed. And this most truly ought to be inferred upon all those that will seem to chastise and correct others, namely, to be wiser and of better government than the rest: for thus Plato protested that he reformed Speusippus by example of his own life: and Xenocrates likewise casting but his eye upon Polemon, who was come into his school like a ruffian, by his very look only reclaimed him from his loose life: whereas on the

contrary side, if a light and lewd person, one that is full of bad conditions himself, would seem to find fault with others and be busy with his tongue, he must be sure always to hear this on both sides of his ears:

> Himself all full of sores impure
> Will others seem to heal and cure.

Howbeit, forasmuch as oftentimes the case standeth so, that by occasion of some affairs we be driven to chastise those with whom we converse, when we ourselves are culpable and no better than they: the most cleanly and least offensive way to do it is this, To acknowledge in some sort that we be likewise faulty and to include and comprehend our own persons together with them; after which manner is that reproof in Homer:

> Sir Diomede, what aileth us?
> How is it come about?
> That we should thus forget to fight,
> Who erst were thought so stout?

Also in another place:

> And now we all unworthy are
> With Hector only to compare.

Thus Socrates mildly and gently would seem to reprove young men, making semblance as if himself were not void of ignorance, but had need also to be instructed in virtue, and professing that he had need with them to search for the knowledge of truth: for such commonly do win love and credit, yea, and sooner shall be believed, who are thought subject to the same faults, and seem willing to correct their friends like as they do their own selves; whereas he who spreadeth and displayeth his own wings, in clipping other men's, justifying himself as if he were pure, sincere, faultless, and without all affections and infirmities, unless he be much elder than we, or in regard of some notable and approved virtue in far higher place of authority and in greater reputation than ourselves, he shall gain no profit nor do any good, but be reputed a busybody and troublesome person. And therefore it was not without just cause that good Phœnix in speaking to Achilles alleged his own misfortunes, and namely how in a fit of choler he had like one day to have killed his own father, but that suddenly he bethought himself and changed his mind,

> Lest that among the Greeks I should be nam'd
> A parricide, and ever after sham'd:

which he did no doubt to this end, because he would not seem in chiding him to arrogate this praise unto himself, that he was not subject to anger, nor had ever done amiss by occasion of that infirmity and passion. Certes such admonitions as these enter and pierce more effectually into the heart, for that they are thought to proceed from a tender compassion; and more willing are we to yield unto such as seem to have suffered the like, than to those that despise and contemn us. But forasmuch as neither the eye when it is inflamed can abide any clear and shining light, nor a passionate mind endure frank speech, or a plain and bare reprehension, one of the best and most profitable helps in this case is to intermingle therewith a little praise, as we read thus in Homer:

> Now (sure) methinks you do not well,
> Thus for to leave the field,
> Who all are known for doughty knights,
> And best with spear and shield.
> A coward if I saw to flee,
> Him would I not reprove:
> But such as you, thus for to shrink,
> My heart doth greatly move.

Likewise:

> O Pandar, where is now thy bow,
> Where are thine arrows flight;
> Where is that honour, in which none
> With thee dare strive in fight?

And verily such oblique reprehensions also as these, are most effectual and wonderful in reclaiming those that be ready to run on end, and fall to some gross enormities: as for example:

> What is become of wise Œdipus,
> In riddles a-reading who was so famous?

Also:

> And Hercules, who hath endur'd such pain,
> Speaks he these words, so foolish and so vain?

For this kind of dealing doth not only assuage and mitigate the roughness and commanding power that is in a reprehension and rebuke, but also breedeth in the party in such sort reproved, a certain emulation of himself, causing him to be abashed and ashamed for any follies and dishonest pranks, when he remembreth and calleth to mind his other good parts and commendable acts, which by this means he setteth before his eyes, as examples, and so taketh himself for a pattern and precedent of better things: But when we make comparison between him and others,

to wit, his equals in age, his fellow-citizens, or kinsfolk; then his vice, which in the own nature is stubborn and opinionative enough, becometh by that means more froward and exasperate, and oftentimes he will not stick in a fume and chafe to fling away, and grumble in this wise, Why go you not then to those that are so much better than I? why can you not let me alone, but thus trouble me as you do? And therefore we must take heed especially, that whiles we purpose to tell one plainly of his faults, we do not praise others, unless haply they be his parents: as Agamemnon did unto Diomedes:

> A son (iwis) Sir Tideus left behind,
> Unlike himself, and much grown out of kind.

And Ulysses in the tragedy entituled *Scyrii*:

> You, sir, whose father was a knight,
> The best that ever drew
> A sword, of all the Greeks, in field,
> And many a captain slew,
> Sit you here carding like a wench,
> And spinning wool on rock,
> Thereby the glorious light to quench
> Of your most noble stock?

But most unseemly it were and undecent of all other, if when one is admonished by his friend, he should fall to admonish him again; and being told freely of his fault, serve him the like, and quit him with as much: for this is the next way to kindle coals, and to make variance and discord; and in one word verily, such a rejecting and spurning again as this, may seem in effect to bewray, not a reciprocal liberty of rendering one for another, but rather a peevish mind that can abide no manner of reproof. Better therefore it is to endure patiently for the time, a friend that telleth us plainly of our faults; and if himself afterwards chance to offend and have need of the like reprehension, this after a sort giveth free liberty unto him that was rebuked afore, to use the same liberty of speech again unto the other: For calling to mind by this occasion, without any remembrance of old grudge and former injury, that himself also was wont not to neglect his friends when they did amiss and forgat themselves, but took pains to reprove, redress, and teach them how to amend, he will the sooner yield a fault, and receive that chastisement and correction, which he shall perceive to be a retribution of like love and kindness, and not a requital of complaint and anger.

Moreover, like as Thucydides saith, That the man is wise and

well advised, who incurreth the envy of men for matters of greatest weight and importance; even so we say: That if a friend will adventure the danger and heavy load and ill will for blaming his friends, he must make choice of such matters as be of great moment and much consequence: for if he will take exceptions at every trifle and little thing indifferent; if he will seem evermore to be finding fault, and carry himself not like a kind and affectionate friend, but a precise, severe, and imperious schoolmaster, to spy all faults, and correct every point and tittle; certes, he shall find afterwards, that his admonitions, even for the greatest offences, shall not be regarded, nor any whit effectual: for that he hath used already to no purpose, his frank reprehension (the sovereign remedy for gross and main faults) in many others that are but slight, and not worthy reproof: much like unto a physician, who hath employed and spent a medicine that is strong and bitter, howbeit, necessary and costly, in small infirmities, and of no reckoning to speak of. A friend therefore is to look unto this; That it be not an ordinary matter with him to be always quarrelsome, and desirous to find one fault or other. And if peradventure he meet with such a companion as is apt to search narrowly into all light matters, to cavil and wrangle for everything, and ready to raise calumniations like a petty sycophant for toys and trifles, he may take the better advantage and occasion thereby for to reprove him again, in case he chance to fail in greater and more gross faults.

Philotimus the physician answered prettily unto one, who having an impostume grown to suppuration about his liver, shewed unto him a finger that was sore, and troubled with some blister or whitflaw, and desired his counsel for the same: My good friend (quoth he), the disease that you are to look unto is not a whitflaw nor about your nail root; even so, there may be occasion and opportunity offered unto a friend, to say unto one that ever and anon is finding fault, and reproving small errors not worth the noting, to wit, sports and pastimes, feasting and merry meeting, or such-like trifling tricks of youth: Good sir, let us find the means rather, that this man whom you thus blame may cast off the harlot that he keeps, or give over his dice-playing; for otherwise he is a man of excellent and wonderful good parts. For he that perceiveth how he is tolerated or winked at, yea, and pardoned in small matters, will not be unwilling that a friend should use his liberty in reproving his greater vices: whereas he that is evermore urgent upon one, pressing and lying hard unto him; always bitter and unpleasant,

prying and looking into every corner, and taking knowledge of all things: such an one (I say) there is neither child nor brother will endure; nay, he is intolerable to his very servants: But like as Euripides saith:

> All is not naught that old age brings,
> We may in it find some good things.

No more is the folly of friends so bad but that we may pick some goodness out of them: we ought therefore to observe diligently, not only when they do amiss, but also when they do well: and verily at the first to be willing and most ready to praise: but afterwards we must do as the smiths who temper iron: For when they have given it a fire, and made it by that means soft, loose, and pliable, they drench and dip it in cold water, whereby it becometh compact and hard, taking thereby the due temperature of stiff steel; even so, when we perceive that our friends be well heat and relaxed (as it were) by hearing themselves praised by us, then we may come upon them by little and little with a tincture (as I may so say) of reproof, and telling them of their faults. Then will it be a fit time to speak unto a friend thus: How say you, are these pranks worthy to be compared with those parts? See you not the fruits that come of virtue? Lo, what we your friends require of you: these are the duties and offices which are beseeming your person: for these hath nature made and framed you. As for those lewd courses, fie upon them:

> Send such away, confine them far,
> Unto the mountain wild,
> Or into roaring sea, from land
> Let them be quite exil'd.

For like as an honest-minded and discreet physician will choose rather to cure the malady of his patient by rest and sleep, or by good nutriture and diet, than by *castoreum* or *scammonium:* even so, a kind and courteous friend, a good father and gentle schoolmaster, taketh pleasure and joyeth more to use praises than reproofs, in the reformation of manners. For there is nothing that maketh the man who boldly findeth fault with his friends to be so little offensive unto them, or to do more good and cure them better, than to be void of anger, and to seem after a mild sort in all love and affectionate goodwill to address himself unto them, when they do amiss. And therefore neither ought he to urge them overmuch, and seem too eagerly to convince them if they deny the thing, nor yet to debar them

of liberty to make their answer and clear themselves: but rather to help them out, and after a sort to minister unto them some honest and colourable pretences, to excuse and justify their facts: and when a man seeth them do amiss by reason of some worse cause indeed, to lay the fault upon another occasion that is more tolerable. As Hector when he said unto Paris:

> Unhappy man, alas, you do not well
> To bear in breast a heart so fell.

As if his brother's retire out of battle and refusal to combat with Menelaus, had not been a mere flight and running away, but very anger and a curst stomach. Likewise Nestor unto Agamemnon:

> But you give place unto your haughty mind:
> And feed those fits which come to you by kind.

For in mine advice a more mild reprehension is this than to have said: This was injuriously done of you, or this was a shameful and villanous part of yours; As also to say unto one, You could not tell what you did; you thought not of it; or you were altogether ignorant what would come thereof, is better and more civil than bluntly to charge him and say: This was a mere wrong, and a wicked act of yours. Also thus, Do not contest and quarrel in this wise with your brother, is less offensive than to say: Deal not thus enviously and spitefully against your brother: Likewise it were a more gentle manner of reproof to say unto a man: Avoid this woman that spoileth and abuseth you; than thus: Give over this woman, spoil and abuse her no more. Thus you see what means are to be used in this liberty of speech, when a friend would cure a malady.

But for to prevent the same, there would be practised a clean contrary course: for when it behoveth to avert and turn our friends from committing a fault, whereto they are prone and inclined; or to withstand some violent and disordinate passion, which carrieth them a clean contrary way; or when we are desirous to incite and stir them forward unto good things, being of themselves slow and backward: when, I say, we would give an edge unto them, who are otherwise dull, and heat them being cold, we ought to transfer the thing or act in hand to some absurd causes, and those that be unseemly and undecent. Thus Ulysses pricked on Achilles in a certain tragedy of

Sophocles, when he said thus unto him: It is not for a supper, Achilles, that you are so angry, but

> For that you have already seen
> The walls of Troy, your fearful teen.

And when upon these words Achilles took greater indignation, and chafed more and more, saying, that he would not sail forward but be gone back again, he came upon him a second time with this rejoinder:

> I wot well why you gladly would depart:
> 'Tis not because at checks or taunts you chafe,
> But Hector is not far: he kills your heart;
> For dread of him to stay it is not safe.

By this means when we scar a valiant and hardy man with the opinion of cowardice; an honest, chaste, and civil person with the note of being reputed loose and incontinent; also a liberal and sumptuous magnifico with the fear to be accounted a niggard or a mechanical micher; we do mightily incite them to well-doing, and chase them from bad ways. And like as when a thing is done and past, and where there is no remedy, there should be borne a modest and temperate hand, in such sort that in our liberty of speech we seem to shew more commiseration, pity and fellow-grief of mind for the fault of a friend, than eager reprehension; so contrariwise where it stands upon this point that he should not fault, where (I say) our drift is to fight against the motion of his passions, there we ought to be vehement, inexorable, and never to give over nor yield one jot unto them. And this is the very time when we are to shew that love of ours and goodwill which is constant, settled, and sure, and to use our true liberty of speech to the full. For to reprove faults already committed, we see it is an ordinary thing among arrant enemies. To which purpose said Diogenes very well; That a man who would be an honest man ought to have either very good friends, or most shrewd and bitter enemies: for as they do teach and instruct, so these are ready to find fault and reprove.

Now far better it is for one to abstain from evil doing, in believing and following the sound counsel of his friends, than to repent afterwards of ill doing, when he seeth himself blamed and accused by his enemies. And therefore if it were for nothing else but this, great discretion and circumspection would be used in making remonstrances and speaking freely unto friends: and so much the rather, by how much it is the greater and stronger

remedy that friendship can use, and hath more need to be used in time and place convenient, and more wisely to be tempered with a mean and mediocrity.

Now forasmuch as I have said sundry times already, that all reprehensions whatsoever are dolorous unto him that receiveth them; we ought in this case to imitate good physicians and chirurgeons: for when they have made incision or cut any member, they leave not the place in pain and torment still, but use certain fomentations and lenitive infusions to mitigate the anguish: No more do they that after a civil manner have chid or rebuked, run away presently so soon as they have bitten and pricked the party, but by changing their manner of speech, entertain their friends thus galled and wounded, with other more mild and pleasant discourses; to assuage their grief and refresh their heart again that is cast down and discomforted: and I may well compare them to these cutters and carvers of images, who after they have rough hewn and scabbled over certain pieces of stone for to make their statues of, do polish and smooth them fair, yea and give them a lightsome lustre. But if a man be stung and nipped once, or touched to the quick by some objurgatory reprehension, and so left rough, uneven, disquieted, swelling and puffing for anger, he is ever after hardly quieted or reclaimed, and no consolation will serve the turn to appease and comfort him again. And therefore they who reprove and admonish their friends, ought to observe this rule above all others; Not to forsake them immediately when they have so done, nor to break off their conference suddenly, or to conclude their speech with any word that might grieve and provoke them.

OF MEEKNESS, OR HOW A MAN SHOULD REFRAIN CHOLER

A TREATISE IN MANNER OF A DIALOGUE

The persons that be the Speakers: SYLLA *and* FUNDANUS

THE SUMMARY OF THE DIALOGUE

[AFTER we are taught how to discern a flatterer from a friend, it seemeth that this treatise, as touching mildness and how we ought to bridle anger, was set here in his proper place. For like as we may soon err grossly in choice of those whom we are willing and well content to have about us, and in that respect are to be circumspect, and to stand upon our guard; so we have no less cause to consider how we should converse among our neighbours. Now of all those vices and imperfections which defame man's life, and cause the race and course thereof to be difficult and wondrous painful to pass, anger is one of those which are to be ranged in the first rank; in such sort that it booteth not to be provided of good friends, if this furious humour get the mastery over us: like as contrariwise flatterers and such other pestilent plagues have not so easy entrance into us, nor such ready means to be possessed of us, so long as we be accompanied with a certain wise and prudent mildness. In this discourse then, our author, doing the part of an expert physician, laboureth to purge our minds from all choler, and would train them to modesty and humanity, so far forth as philosophy moral is able to perform. And for to attain unto so great a benefit, he sheweth in the first place that we ought to procure our friends for to observe and mark our imperfections, that by long continuance of time we may accustom ourselves to hold in our judgment by the bit of reason. After certain proper similitudes serving for this purpose, and a description of the inconveniences and harms that come by wrath, he proveth that it is an easy matter to restrain and repress the same: to which purpose he setteth down divers means, upon which he discourseth after his usual manner, that is to say, with reasons and inductions, enriched with notable similitudes and examples: afterwards, having spoken of the time and manner of chastising and correcting those who are under our power and governance, he proposeth as well certain remedies to cure choler, as preservatives to keep us from relapse into it again: Which done, he representeth ire lively, as in a painted table, to the end that those who suffer themselves to be surprised therewith, may be abashed and ashamed of their unhappy state: and therewith he giveth five

notable advertisements for to attain thereto, which be as it were preservatives: by means whereof we should not feel ourselves attaint any more with this malady.]

Sylla. It seemeth unto me (O Fundanus) that painters do very well and wisely to view and consider their works often and by times between, before they think them finished and let them go out of their hands: for that by setting them so out of their sight, and then afterwards having recourse thither again to judge thereof, they make their eyes (as it were) new judges, to spy and discern the least fault that is, which continual looking thereupon, and the ordinary view of one and the same thing doth cover and hide from them. But forasmuch as it is not possible that a man should depart from himself for a time, and after a certain space return again; nor that he should break, interrupt and discontinue his understanding and sense within (which is the cause that each man is a worse judge of himself than of others). A second means and remedy therefore in this case would be used: namely, to review his friends sundry times, and eftsoons likewise to yield himself to be seen and beheld by them; not so much to know thereby whether he aged apace and grow soon old; or whether the constitution of his body be better or worse than it was before, as to survey and consider his manners and behaviour, to wit, whether time hath added any good thing, or taken away ought that is bad and naught. For mine own part, this being now the second year since I came first to this city of Rome, and the fifth month of mine acquaintance with you, I think it no great wonder, that considering your towardness and the dexterity of your nature, those good parts which were already in you, have gotten so great an addition and be so much increased, as they are: but when I see how that vehement inclination and ardent motion of yours to anger, whereunto by nature you were given, is by the guidance of reason become so mild, so gentle and tractable, it cometh into my mind to say thereunto that which I read in Homer:

> O what a wondrous change is here?
> Much milder are you than you were.

And verily this gentleness and meekness of yours is not turned into a certain sloth, and general dissolution of your vigour: but like as a piece of ground well tilled, lieth light and even, and besides more hollow than before, which maketh much for the fertility thereof; even so, your nature hath gotten instead of that violent disposition and sudden propension unto choler, a

certain equality and profundity, serving greatly to the management of affairs, whereby also it appeareth plainly that it is not long of the decaying strength of the body, by reason of declining age, neither yet of the own accord, that your hastiness and choleric passion is thus faded, but rather by means of good reasons and instructions well cured. And yet verily (for unto you I will be bold to say the truth) at the first I suspected and could not well believe Eros our familiar friend, when he made this report of you unto me; as doubting that he was ready to give this testimony of you in regard of affection and goodwill, bearing me in hand of those things which were not indeed in you, but ought to be in good and honest men: and yet (as you know well enough) he is not such a man, as for favour of any person, and for to please, can be easily persuaded and brought to say otherwise than he thinketh. But now as he is freed and acquit from the crime of bearing false witness: so you (since this journey and travel upon the way affordeth you good leisure) will (I doubt not) at my request, declare and recount unto us the order how you did this cure upon yourself; and namely what medicines and remedies you used, to make that choleric nature of yours so gentle, so tractable, so soft and supple, so obeisant (I say) and subject wholly to the rule of reason?

Fundanus. But why do you not yourself (O Sylla), my dearest and most affectionate friend, take heed, that for the amity and goodwill which you bear unto me, you be not deceived and see one thing in me for another? As for Eros, who for his own part hath not always his anger steadfastly stayed with the cable and anchor of Homer's *Peisa* (that is, obedient and abiding firm in one place), but otherwhiles much moved and out of quiet, for the hatred that he hath of vice and vicious men it may very well be, and like it is that unto him I seem more mild and gentle than before: like as we see in changing and altering the notes of prick-song, or the gamut in music, certain *netæ* or notes which are the trebles in one 8 being compared with other *netæ* more high and small, become *hypatæ*, that is, the bases.

Sylla. It is neither so nor so (O Fundanus), but of all loves, do as I desire you, for my sake.

Fundanus. Since it is so (Sylla), among many good advertisements of Musonius which come to my mind, this is one; That whosoever would live safe and in health, ought all their lifetime to look to themselves, and be as it were in continual physic. For I am not of this mind, neither do I think it convenient that like as *elleborus*, after it hath done the deed within a sick man's

body and wrought a cure, is cast up again together with the malady; so reason also should be sent out after the passion which it hath cured, but it ought to remain still in the mind for to keep and preserve the judgment. For why? reason is not to be compared with medicines and purgative drugs, but rather to wholesome and nourishing meats, engendering mildly in the minds of them unto whom it is made familiar, a good complexion and fast habit together with some perfect health: whereas admonitions and corrections applied or ministered unto passions when they swell and rage, and be in the height of their heat and inflammation, hardly and with much ado work any effect at all, and if they do, it is with much pain. Neither differ they in operation from those strong odours which well may raise out of a fit those who are fallen and be subject to the epilepsy or falling sickness; but they cure not the disease, nor secure the patient for falling again: True it is that all other passions of the mind, if they be taken in hand at the very point and instant when they are in their highest fury, do yield in some sort, and they admit reason coming from without into the mind for to help and succour, but anger not only, as Melanthius saith,

> Commits lewd parts, and reason doth displace
> Out of her seat and proper resting-place,

but also turneth her clean out of house and home, shutteth and locketh her out of doors for altogether; nay, it fareth for all the world like to those who set the house on fire over their own heads, and burn themselves and it together: it filleth all within full of trouble, smoke, and confused noises, in such sort that it hath neither eye to see, nor ear to listen unto those that would and might assist and give aid: and therefore sooner will a ship abandoned of her master in the midst of the sea, and there hulling dangerously in a storm and tempest, receive a pilot from some other ship without, than a man tossed with the waves of fury and anger, admit the reason and remonstrance of a stranger; unless his own reason at home were beforehand well prepared: But like as they who look for no other but to have their city besieged, gather together and lay up safe their own store and provision, and all things that might serve their turn, not knowing nor expecting any aid or relief abroad during the siege; even so ought we to have our remedies ready and provided long before, and the same gathered out of all parts of philosophy and conveyed into the mind for to withstand the rage of choler: as being assured of this, that when need and

necessity requ reth to use them, we shall not easily admit the same, and suffer them to have entrance into us. For surely at such a time of extremity, the soul heareth not a word that is said unto it without, for the trouble and confusion within, unless her own reason be assistant ready both to receive and understand quickly every commandment and precept, and also to prompt the same accordingly unto her. And say that she doth hear: look what is said unto her after a mild, calm, and gentle manner, that she despiseth; again, if any be more instant, and do urge her somewhat roughly, with those she is displeased, and the worse for their admonitions: for wrath being of the own nature proud, audacious, unruly, and hardly suffering itself to be handled or stirred by another, much like unto a tyrant attended with a strong guard about his person, ought to have something of the own which is domestical, familiar, and (as it were) inbred together with it, for to overthrow and dissolve the same.

Now the continual custom of anger and the ordinary or often falling into a chafe, breedeth in the mind an ill habit called wrathfulness, which in the end groweth to this pass, that it maketh a man choleric and hasty, apt to be moved at everything; and besides, it engendereth a bitter humour of revenge, and a testiness implacable, or hardly to be appeased; namely, when the mind is exulcerate once, taking offence at every small occasion, quarrelling and complaining for toys and trifles, much like unto a thin or a fine edge that entereth with the least force that the graver putteth it to. But the judgment of reason opposing itself straightways against such motions and fits of choler, and ready to suppress and keep them down, is not only a remedy for the present mischief, but also for the time to come doth strengthen and fortify the mind, causing it to be more firm and strong to resist such passions when they arise.

And now to give some instance of myself: The same happened unto me after I had twice or thrice made head against choler, as befel sometimes to the Thebans; who having once repelled and put to flight the Lacedæmonians (warriors thought in those days invincible) were never in any one battle afterward defeated by them. For from that time forward I took heart and courage, as seeing full well that conquered it might be with the discourse of reason. I perceived, moreover, that anger would not only be quenched with cold water poured and cast upon it, as Aristotle hath reported unto us, but also that it would go out and be extinguished, were it never so light a fire before, by

presenting near unto it some object of fear: nay (I assure you) by a sudden joy coming upon it unlooked for, in many a man, according as Homer saith, choler hath melted, dissolved and evaporated away. And therefore this resolution I made, that anger was a passion not incurable, if men were willing to be cured: for surely the occasions and beginnings thereof are not always great and forcible; but we see that a jest, a scoff, some sport, some laughter, a wink of the eye, or nod of the head, and such small matters, hath set many in a pelting chafe: even as Lady Helena saying no more but thus unto her niece or brother's daughter at their first meeting,

> Electra, virgin, long time since I you saw, etc.,

drave her in such a fit of choler, that therewith she was provoked to break off her speech with this answer:

> Wise now at last, though all too late,
> You are, I may well say,
> Who whilom left your husband's house,
> And ran with shame away.

Likewise Callisthenes mightily offended Alexander with one word, who when a great bowl of wine went round about the table, refused it as it came to his turn, saying: I will not (I trow) drink so to your health, Alexander, that I shall have need thereby of Æsculapius (*i.e.*, a physician). A fire that newly hath caught aflame with hares' or conies' hair, dry leaves, hurds and light straw, stubble and rakings, it is an easy matter to put out and quench; but if it have once taken to sound fuel and such matter as hath solidity, substance and thickness in it, soon it burneth and consumeth, as Æschylus saith:

> By climbing up and mounting high
> The stately works of carpentry.

Semblably, he that will take heed unto choler at the beginning, when he seeth it once to smoke or flame out by occasion of some merry speech, flouting scoffs, and foolish words of no moment, needs not to strive much about the quenching of it: for many times if he do no more but hold his peace, or make small account or none at all of such matters, it is enough to extinguish and make it go out. For he that ministreth not fuel to fire, putteth it out; and whosoever feedeth not his anger at the first, and bloweth not the coals himself, doth cool and repress the same. And therefore Hieronymus the philosopher, although otherwise he have taught us many good lessons and instructions, yet in

this point he hath not pleased and satisfied me, when he saith; That a man is not able to perceive in himself the breeding of anger (so quick and sudden it is), but only when it is bred, then it may be felt: for surely there is no vice or passion in us that giveth such warning, or hath either so evident a generation or so manifest an augment whiles it is stirred and moved, as anger, according as Homer himself right skilfully, and as a man of good experience, giveth us to understand, who bringeth in Achilles sore moved to sorrow and grief of heart, even with a word, and at the very instant, when he heard the speeches of Agamemnon: for thus reporteth the poet of him:

> Out of the king his sovereign's mouth,
> The word no sooner past,
> But straight a black and misty cloud
> Of ire him overcast.

But of Agamemnon himself, he saith that it was long ere he was angry; namely, after he had been kindled with many hard speeches, that were dealt to and fro, which if any third person stepping between would have stayed or turned away, certes their quarrel and debate had not grown to such terms of extremity as it did. And therefore Socrates so often as he felt himself somewhat declining and more moved than he should against any one of his friends, and avoiding as it were a rock in the sea, before the tempest came and the billows arose, would let fall his voice, shew a smiling countenance, and compose his look and visage to mirth and lenity, and thus by bending and drawing another away to that whereunto his affection inclined, and opposing himself to a contrary passion, he kept upright on his feet, so that he fell not, nor was overthrown. For there is (my good friend) a ready means in the very beginning to break the force of choler, like as there is a way to dissolve a tyrannical rule and dominion, that is to say, not to obey at the first, not to give ear and be ruled by her commandment, when she shall bid thee to speak and cry out aloud, or to look with a terrible countenance, or to knock or beat thyself; but to be still and quiet, and not to reinforce and increase the passion, as men do exasperate a sickness with struggling, striving, tossing and roaring out aloud. For those things which ordinary lovers and amorous young men practise, that is to say, to go in a wanton and merry mask, to sing and dance at the doors of their sweethearts and mistresses, to bedeck their windows with coronets and flower-garlands, bring some ease and alleviation (such as it is) of their passions, and the same not altogether

undecent and uncivil, according to that which we read in the poet:

> And when I came, aloud I cried not,
> And asked who she was, or daughter whose?
> But kist my love full sweetly, that I wot:
> If this be sin? but sin I cannot choose.

Also that which we permit those to do who are in sorrow, namely, to mourn, to lament and weep for losses or mishaps; certainly with their sighs which they fetch, and tears that they shed, they do send out and discharge a good part of their grief and anguish. But it is not so with the passion of anger: for surely, the more that they stir and speak who are surprised therewith, the more hot it is, and the flame burneth out the rather; and therefore the best way is for a man to be quiet, to fly and keep him out of the way, or else to retire himself into some haven of surety and repose, when he perceiveth that there is a fit of anger toward, as if he felt an access of the falling evil coming. This (I say) we ought to do, for fear lest we fall down, or rather run and rush upon some one or other. But who be they that we run upon? Surely our very friends, for the greatest part, and those we wrong most. As for our affection of love, it standeth not to all things indifferently, neither do we hate nor yet fear we everything alike: But what is it that ire setteth not upon? nothing is there but it doth assail and lay hands on; we are angry with our enemies; we chafe with our friends; with children, with parents we are wrath; nay, the very gods themselves we forbear not in our choleric mood; we fly upon dumb and brute beasts; we spare not so much as our utensil vessels and implements, which have neither sense nor life at all, if they stand in our way, we fare like Thamyris the musician,

> Who brake his cornet, finely bound
> And tipt with gold: his lute he hent,
> Well strung and tun'd to pleasant sound,
> And it anon to fitters rent.

Thus did Pandarus also, who cursed, and betook himself to all the fiends in hell, if he did not burst his bow and arrows with his own hands, and throw them into the fire when he had so done. As for Xerxes, he stuck not to whip, to lash and scourge the sea, and to the mountain Athos he sent his minatory letters in this form; *Thou wretched and wicked Athos, that bearest up thy head aloft into the sky; see thou bring forth no great craggy stones, I advise thee, for my works, and such as be hard to be cut*

and wrought: otherwise, if thou do, I shall cut thee through and tumble thee into the main sea.

Many fearful and terrible things there be that are done in anger, and as many for them again as foolish and ridiculous, and therefore of all passions that trouble the mind, it is both hated and despised most. In which regards expedient it were to consider diligently as well of the one as the other: for mine own part, whether I did well or ill, I know not; but surely, when I began my cure of choler in myself, I did as in old time the Lacedæmonians were wont to do by their Ilotes, men of base and servile condition: For as they taught their children what a foul vice drunkenness was, by their example when they were drunk, so I learned by observing others what anger was, and what beastly effects it wrought. First and foremost, therefore, like as that malady, according to Hippocrates, is of all others worst and most dangerous wherein the visage of the sick person is most disfigured and made unlikest itself; so, I seeing those that were possessed of choler, and (as it were) beside themselves thereby, how their face was changed, their colour, their countenance, their gait and their voice quite altered, I imagined thereupon unto myself a certain form and image of this malady, as being mightily displeased in my mind, if haply at any time I should be seen of my friends, my wife and the little girls my daughters, so terrible and so far moved and transported beside myself: not only fearful and hideous to behold, and far otherwise than I was wont, but also unpleasant to be heard; my voice being rough, rude and churlish: like as it was my hap to see some of my familiar friends in that case, who by reason of anger could not retain and keep their ordinary fashions and behaviour, their form of visage, nor their grace in speech, nor yet that affability and pleasantness in company and talk as they were wont.

This was the reason that Caius Gracchus the orator, a man by nature blunt, rude in behaviour, and withal over-earnest and violent in his manner of pleading, had a little flute or pipe made for the nonce, such as musicians are wont to guide and rule the voice gently by little and little up and down, between base to treble, according to every note as they would themselves, teaching their scholars thereby to have a tunable voice. Now when Gracchus pleaded at the bar at any time, he had one of his servants standing with such a pipe behind him: who observing when his master was a little out of tune, would sound a more mild and pleasant note unto him, whereby he reclaimed

and called him back from that loud exclaiming, and so taking down that rough and swelling accent of his voice,

> Like as the neat-herds' pipes so shrill
> Made of the marish reeds so light;
> The joints whereof with wax they fill,
> Resound a tune for their delight:
> Which while the herd in field they keep,
> Brings them at length to pleasant sleep,

dulced and allayed the choleric passion of the orator. Certes myself, if I had a pretty page to attend upon me, who were diligent, necessary and handsome about me, would not be offended but very well content, that when he saw me angry he should by and by present a mirror or looking-glass unto me, such a one as they use to bring and shew unto some that newly are come out of the bain, although no good or profit at all they have thereby. But certainly for man to see himself at such a time, how disquieted he is, how far out of the way, and beside the course of nature, it were no small means to check this passion, and to set him in hatred therewith for ever after. They who are delighted in tales and fables, do report by way of merry speech and pastime, that once when Minerva was a piping, there came a satyr and admonished her that it was not for her to play upon a flute; but she for the time took no heed to that advertisement of his, notwithstanding he spake thus unto her:

> This form of face becomes you not,
> Lay up your pipes, take arms in hand;
> But first this would not be forgot,
> Your cheeks to lay, that puft now stand.

But afterwards, when she had seen her face in a certain river, what a pair of cheeks she had gotten with her piping, she was displeased with herself and flung away her pipes: And yet this art and skill of playing well upon the pipe, yieldeth some comfort and maketh amends for the deformity of a disfigured visage, with the melodious tune and harmony that it affordeth; yea and afterwards, Marsyas the minstrel (as it is thought) devised first with a certain hood and muzzle fastened round about the mouth, as well to restrain and keep down the violence of the blast enclosed thus by force, as also to correct and hide the deformity and undecent inequality of the visage:

> With glittering gold both cheeks as far
> As temples he did bind:
> The tender mouth with thongs likewise,
> Fast knit the neck behind.

But anger contrariwise, as it doth puff up and stretch out the visage after an unseemly manner, so much more it sendeth out undecent and unpleasant voice:

> And stirs the strings at secret root of heart,
> Which touched should not be, but lie apart.

The sea verily, when being troubled and disquieted with blustering winds, it casteth up moss, reits, and such-like weeds (they say), it is cleansed and purged thereby: but the dissolute, bitter, scurril, and foolish speeches, which anger sendeth out of the mind when it is turned upside down, first pollute and defile the speakers themselves, and fill them full of infamy, for that they be thought to have their hearts full of such ordure and filthiness at all times; but the same lurketh there, until that choler discovereth it: And therefore, they pay most dearly for their speech, the lightest matter of all others (as Plato saith), in that they suffer this heavy and grievous punishment to be held and reputed for malicious enemies, cursed speakers, and ill-conditioned persons. Which I seeing and observing well enough, it falleth out that I reason with myself, and always call to mind what a good thing it is in a fever, but much better in a fit of choler, to have a tongue fair, even and smooth: For in them that be sick of an ague, if the tongue be not such as naturally it ought to be, an ill sign it is, but not a cause of any harm or indisposition within. Howbeit, if their tongues who are angry be once rough, foul, and running dissolutely at random to absurd speeches, it casteth forth outrageous and contumelious language, the very mother and work-mistress of irreconcilable enmity, and bewrayeth an hidden and secret maliciousness. As for wine, if a man drink it of itself undelayed with water, it putteth forth no such wantonness, no disordinate and lewd speeches, like to those that proceed of ire. For drunken talk serveth to make mirth, and to procure laughter rather than anything else: but words of choler are tempered with bitter gall and rancour. Moreover, he that sitteth silent at the table when others drink merrily, is odious unto the company and a trouble: whereas in choler there is nothing more decent and beseeming gravity, than to be quiet and say nothing: according as Sappho doth admonish:

> When furious choler once is up,
> Disperst and spread in breast,
> To keep the tongue then apt to bark,
> And let it lie at rest.

The consideration of these things collected thus together,

serveth not only to take heed always unto them that are subject to ire and therewith possessed, but also besides to know throughly the nature of anger: how it is neither generous or manful, nor yet hath anything in it that savoureth of wisdom and magnanimity. Howbeit the common people interpret the turbulent nature thereof to be active and meet for action: the threats and menaces thereof, hardiness and confidence, the peevish and froward unruliness to be fortitude and strength. Nay, some there be who would have the cruelty in it to be a disposition and dexterity to achieve great matters; the implacable malice thereof to be constancy and firm resolution: the morosity and difficulty to be pleased, to be hatred of sin and vice; howbeit, herein they do not well, but are much deceived, for surely the very actions, motions, gestures, and countenance of choleric persons do argue and bewray much baseness and imbecility: which we may perceive not only in these brain-sick fits that they fall upon little children, and them pluck, twitch, and misuse; fly upon poor silly women, and think that they ought to punish and beat their horses, hounds, and mules, like unto Ctesiphon, that famous wrestler and professed champion who stuck not to spurn and kick his mule; but also in their tyrannical and bloody murders, wherein their cruelty and bitterness, which declareth their pusillanimity and base mind; their actions, which shew their passions and their doing to others, bewraying a suffering in themselves, may be compared to the stings and bitings of those venomous serpents which be very angry, exceeding dolorous, and burn most themselves when they do inflict the greatest inflammation upon the patients, and put them to most pain: For like as swelling is a symptom or accident following upon a great wound or hurt in the flesh: even so it is in the tenderest and softest minds, the more they give place and yield unto dolour and passion, the more plenty of choler and anger they utter forth as proceeding from the greater weakness.

By this you may see the reason why women ordinarily be more waspish, curst, and shrewd than men; sick folk more testy than those that are in health; old people more wayward and froward than those that be in the flower and vigour of their years; and finally, such as be in adversity and upon whom fortune frowneth, more prone to anger than those who prosper and have the world smiling upon them. The covetous miser and pinching penny-father is always most angry with his steward that layeth forth his money; the glutton is ever more displeased with his cook and caterer; the jealous husband

quickly falleth out and brawleth with his wife; the vain-glorious fool is soonest offended with them that speak anything amiss of him; but the most bitter and intolerable of all others, are ambitious persons in a city, who lay for high places and dignities, such also as are the heads of a faction in a sedition; which is a trouble and mischief (as Pindarus saith) conspicuous and honourable. Lo, how from that part of the mind which is wounded, grieved, suffereth most and especially upon infirmity and weakness, ariseth anger, which passion resembleth not (as one would have it) the sinews of the soul, but is like rather to their stretching sprains and spasmatic convulsions, when it straineth and striveth overmuch in following revenge.

Well, the examples of evil things yield no pleasant sight at all, only they be necessary and profitable; and for mine own part, supposing the precedents given by those who have carried themselves gently and mildly in their occasions of anger, are most delectable, not only to behold, but also hear: I begin to contemn and despise those that say thus:

> To man thou hast done wrong: be sure
> At man's hand wrong for to endure.

Likewise:

> Down to the ground with him, spare not his coat,
> Spurn him and set thy foot upon his throat,

and other such words which serve to provoke wrath and whet choler; by which some go about to remove anger out of the nursery, and women's chamber into the hall where men do sit and keep; but herein they do not well: For prowess and fortitude according in all other things with justice, and going fellow-like with her, methinks is at strife and debate with her about meekness and mildness only, as if she rather became her, and by right appertained unto her: For otherwhiles it hath been known that the worst men have gone beyond and surmounted the better. But for a man to erect a trophy and set up a triumphal monument in his own soul against ire (with which, as Heraclitus saith, the conflict is hard and dangerous: for what a man would have he buyeth with his life) is an act of rare valour and victorious puissance, as having in truth the judgment of reason, for sinews, tendons, and muscles to encounter and resist passions. Which is the cause that I study, and am desirous always to read and gather the sayings and doings, not only of learned clerks and philosophers; who, as our sages and wise men say, have no gall in them, but also and much

rather of kings, princes, tyrants, and potentates: As, for example, such as that was of Antigonus, who hearing his soldiers upon a time revile him behind his pavilion, thinking that he heard them not, put forth his staff from under the cloth unto them and said: A whoreson knaves, could you not go a little farther off, when you meant thus to rail upon us? Likewise when one Arcadian, an Argive or Achæan never gave over reviling of King Philip, and abusing him in most reproachful terms, yea, and to give him warning

> So far to fly, until he thither came
> Where no man knew nor heard of Philip's name.

And afterwards the man was seen (I know not how) in Macedonia; the friends and courtiers of King Philip were in hand with him to have him punished, and that in any wise he should not let him go and escape: Philip, contrariwise, having him once in his hands, spake gently unto him, used him courteously, sending unto him in his lodging gifts and presents, and so sent him away. And after a certain time he commanded those courtiers of purpose to inquire what words he gave out of him unto the Greeks; but when every one made report again and testified that he was become another man, and ceased not to speak wonderful things in the praise of him; Lo (quoth Philip), then unto them: Am not I a better physician than all you, and can I not skill how to cure a foul-tongued fellow? Another time, at the great solemnity of the Olympian games, when the Greeks abused him with very bad language, his familiar friends about him said they deserved to be sharply chastised and punished for so miscalling and reviling him, who had been so good a benefactor of theirs: What would they do and say then (quoth he) if I should deal hardly by them and do them shrewd turns? Semblably, notable and excellent was the carriage of Pisistratus to Thrasibulus: of King Porsenna to Mutius, and of Magas to Philemon, who in a public and frequent theatre had mocked and scoffed at him in this manner:

> Magas, there are some letters come
> Unto you from a king;
> But letter Magas none can read,
> Nor write for anything.

Now it chanced afterwards that by a tempest at sea he was cast upon the port town Parætonium, whereof Magas was governor, and so fell into his hands, who did him no other harm, but commanded one of his guard or officers about him only with

his naked sword to touch his bare neck, and so gently to go his ways and do no more to him: marry, afterwards, he sent unto him little bones for cockal, and a pretty ball to play withal, as if he had been a child that had no wit nor discretion, and so sent him home again in peace. King Ptolemæus, upon a time jesting and scoffing at a simple and unlearned grammarian, asked him who was the father of Peleus: I will answer you, sir (quoth he), if you tell me first who was the father of Lagus: This was a dry flout and touched King Ptolemæus very near, in regard of the mean parentage from whence he was descended: whereat all about the king were mightily offended, and thought it was too broad a jest and frump intolerable. But Ptolemæus, if it be not seemly for a king to take and put up a scorn, surely as little decent it is for his person to give a scorn[1]

Alexander the Great was more bitter and cruel (than otherwise his ordinary manner was to others) towards Callisthenes and Clytus. But King Porus, being taken prisoner by him in a battle, besought that he would use him royally, or like a king. And when King Alexander demanded, moreover, what he had more to say, and what he would have else? No more (quoth he), for under this word royally is comprised all. And therefore I suppose it is that the Greeks call the king of the gods by the name of Milichiüs, that is to say, Mild and sweet as honey. And the Athenians named him Mumactes, which is as much as, Ready to help and succour: For to punish and torment pertaineth to devils and the furious fiends of hell: there is no celestial, divine, and heavenly thing in it. And like as one said of King Philip, when he had razed and destroyed the city Olynthus: Yea, marry, but he is not able to set up such another city in the place: even so, a man may well say unto anger, Thou canst overthrow, demolish, mar, and pull down; but to rear and erect again, to save, to pardon, and to endure, be the properties of meekness, clemency, mildness, patience and moderation: they be the parts (I say) of Camillus, Metellus, Aristides, and Socrates: whereas to stick close unto the flesh, to pinch, prick, and bite, are the qualities of pismires, flies, and mice.

Moreover and besides, when I look unto revenge, and the manner thereof, I find for the most part, that if men proceed by way of choler, they miss of their purpose: for commonly all the heat and desire of revenge is spent in biting of lips, gnashing and grating of teeth, vain running to and fro, in railing words

[1] It seemeth that here is somewhat wanting.

with foolish threats and menaces among, that savour of no wit at all: By which means it fareth with them afterwards as with little children in running of a race, who for feebleness being not able to hold out, fall down before they come unto the goal, whereunto they made such ridiculous and foolish haste. And therefore in my conceit, it was not an improper answer which a certain Rhodian made unto one of the lictors and officers of a Roman general or lord prætor, who with wide mouth bawled at him, and made a glorious bragging and boasting. I pass not (quoth he) one whit what thou sayst; I care rather for that which he thinketh there, that saith nothing. In like manner Sophocles, when he had brought in Eurypylus and Neoptolemus all armed, speaketh bravely in their commendation thus:

> They dealt no threats in vain, no taunts
> They made, nor boasting words;
> But to 't they went, and on their shields
> They laid on load with swords.

And verily, some barbarous nations there are who use to poison their swords and other weapons of iron; but valour hath no need at all of the venom of choler, for dipped it is in reason and judgment; whereas whatsoever is corrupted with ire and fury is brittle, rotten, and easy to be broken into pieces. Which is the reason that the Lacedæmonians do allay the choler of their soldiers, when they are fighting, with the melodious sound of flutes and pipes; whose manner is also, before they go to battle, to sacrifice unto the Muses, to the end that their reason and right wits may remain in them still, and that they may have use thereof: yea, and when they have put their enemies to flight, they never pursue after nor follow the chase, but reclaim and hold their furious anger within compass, which they are able to wield and manage as they list; no less than these daggers or cutlasses, which are of a mean size and reasonable length.

Contrariwise, anger hath been the cause that many thousands have come short of the execution of vengeance, and miscarried by the way. As, for example, Cyrus and Pelopidas the Theban among the rest. But Agathocles endured patiently to hear himself reproached and reviled by those whom he besieged: and when one of them said: You potter there! Hear you? Where will you have silver to pay your mercenary soldiers and strangers their wages? He laughed again and made answer; Even out of this city when I have once forced it. Some there

were also that mocked and scorned Antigonus from the very walls, and twitted him with his deformity and evil-favoured face. But he said no more than thus, Why! And I took myself before to have been very fair and well favoured. Now when he had won the town he sold in open port-sale those that had so flouted him, protesting withal unto them, that if from that time forward they mocked him any more, he would tell their masters of them and call them to account.

Moreover, I do see that hunters, yea, and orators also, commit many faults in their choler. And Aristotle doth report, that the friends of Satyrus the orator, in one cause that he had to plead for them, stopped his ears with wax, for fear lest that he, when he heard his adversaries to rail upon him in their pleas, should mar all in his anger. And do not (I pray you) we ourselves many times miss of punishing our servants by this means, when they have done some faults: for when they hear us to threaten, and give out in our anger, that we will do thus and thus unto them, they be so frighted that they run away far enough off from us. Like as nurses, therefore, are wont to say unto their little children: Cry not, and you shall have this or that; so we shall do very well to speak unto our choler in this wise; Make no such haste, soft and fair, keep not such a crying, make not so loud a noise, be not so eager and urgent upon the point: so shall you see everything that you would have, sooner done and much better. And thus a father, when he seeth his child going about to cut or cleave anything with a knife or edge tool, taketh the tool or knife out of his hand, and doth it himself; even so he that doth take revenge out of the hands of choler, punisheth not himself, but him that deserveth it: and thus he doth surely, putting his own person in no danger, without damage and loss, nay, with great profit and commodity.

Now, whereas all passions whatsoever of the mind had need of use and custom, to tame (as it were) and vanquish by exercise that which in them is unruly, rebellious and disobedient to reason: certes, in no one point besides had we need to be more exercised (I mean as touching those dealings that we have with our household servants) than in anger: for there is no envy and emulation that ariseth in us toward them, there is no fear that we need to have of them, neither any ambition that troubleth or pricketh us against them; but ordinary and continual fits of anger we have every day with them, which breed much offence and many errors, causing us to tread awry, to slip and do amiss sundry ways, by reason of that licentious liberty unto which we

give ourselves, all the whiles that there is none to control, none to stay, none to forbid and hinder us: and therefore, being in so ticklish a place, and none to sustain and hold us up, soon we catch a fall, and come down at once. And a hard matter it is (I may say to you) when we are not bound to render an account to any one, in such a passion as this, to keep ourselves upright, and not to offend; unless we take order beforehand to restrain and empale (as it were) round about so great a liberty with meekness and clemency, unless (I say) we be well inured and acquainted to bear and endure many shrewd and unhappy words of our wives, much unkind language of friends and familiars, who many times do challenge us for being too remiss, over-gentle, yea, and altogether careless and negligent in this behalf. And this in truth hath been the principal cause that I have been quick and sharp unto my servants, for fear lest they might prove the worse for not being chastised. But at the last, though late it were, I perceived; First, that better it was by long sufferance and indulgence, to make them somewhat worse, than in seeking to reform and amend others, to disorder and spoil myself with bitterness and choler: Secondly, when I saw many of them oftentimes, even because they were not so punished, fear and shame to do evil, and how pardon and forgiveness was the beginning of their repentance and conversion, rather than rigour and punishment; and that I assure you, they would serve some more willingly with a nod or wink of the eye, and without a word spoken, than others with all their beating and whipping: I was at last persuaded in my mind and resolved, that reason was more worthy to command and rule as a master, than ire and wrath. For true it is not that the poet saith:

> Wherever is fear,
> Shame also is there:

but clean contrary: Look who are bashful and ashamed; in them there is imprinted a certain fear that holdeth them in good order: whereas continual beating and laying on without mercy, breedeth not repentance in servants for evil doing, but rather a kind of forecast and providence how they should not be spied nor taken in their evil doing. Thirdly, calling to remembrance, and considering evermore with myself, that he who taught us to shoot forbade us not to draw a bow or to shoot an arrow, but to miss the mark: no more will this be any let or hindrance, but that we may chastise and punish our servants, if we be taught to do it in time and place, with moderation and measure,

profitably, and decently as it appertaineth. And verily I do enforce myself, and strive to master my choler and subdue it principally, nor denying unto them who are to be punished, the liberty and means to justify themselves, but in hearing them to speak what they can for their excuse. For as time and space doth in the meantime find the passion occupied another way, and withal bring a certain delay, which doth slack and let down (as it were) the vehemency and violence thereof; so judgment of reason all the while meeteth both with a decent manner and also with a convenient mean and measure of doing punishment accordingly. And besides, this course and manner of proceeding, leaveth him that is punished no cause, occasion, or pretence at all to resist and strive again, considering that he is chastised and corrected not in choler and anger, but being first convinced that he had well deserved his correction: and (which were yet worse than all the rest) the servant shall not have vantage to speak more justly and to better reason than his master.

Well, then, like as Phocion after the death of Alexander the Great, having a care not to suffer the Athenians to rise over-soon, or make any insurrection before due time, nor yet to give credit rashly unto the news of his death: My masters of Athens (quoth he), if he be dead to-day, he will be dead to-morrow also, and three days hence too; even so should a man (in mine opinion) who, by the impulsion and instigation of anger, maketh haste to take punishment, thus suggest and secretly say to himself: If this servant of mine hath made a fault to-day, it will be as true to-morrow, and the next day after, that he hath done a fault; neither will there be any harm or danger at all come of it, if he chance to be punished with the latest; but believe me, if he be punished over-soon, it will be always thought that he had wrong, and did not offend: a thing that I have known to happen full often. For which of us all is so curst and cruel, as to punish and scourge a servant for burning the roast five or ten days ago? or for that so long before he chanced to overthrow the table? or was somewhat with the slowest in making answer to his master; or did his errand or other business not so soon as he should? and yet we see these and such-like be the ordinary causes for which (whiles they be fresh and new done) we take on, we stamp and stare, we chafe, we frown, we are implacable and will hear of no pardon: And no marvel, for like as any bodies seem bigger through a mist, even so every-thing appeareth greater than it is through anger.

And therefore at these and such-like faults, we should wink for the time, and make as though we saw them not, and yet think upon them nevertheless, and bear them in mind. But afterwards, when the storm is well overblown, we are without passion, and do not suspect ourselves, then we may do well to consider thereof: and then, if upon mature deliberation, when our mind is staid and our senses settled, the thing appear to be naught, we are to hate and abhor it, and in no wise either to forlet and put off, or altogether to omit and forbear correction, like as they refuse meats who have no stomach nor appetite to eat. For certainly it is not a thing so much to be blamed for to punish one in anger, as not to punish when anger is past and allayed, and so to be retchless and dissolute: doing as idle mariners, who so long as the sea is calm and the weather fair, loiter within the harbour or haven, but afterwards, when a tempest is up, spread sails and put themselves into danger. For even so we, condemning and neglecting the remissness and calmness of reason in case of punishment, make haste to execute the same during the heat of choler, which no doubt is a blustering and turbulent wind. As for meat, he calleth for it indeed, and taketh it naturally who is a-hungry: but surely he executeth punishment best who neither hungereth nor thirsteth after it: neither hath he need to use choler as a sauce or dainty dish for to get him a stomach and appetite to correct: but even when he is farthest off from desire of revenge, then of necessity he is to make use of reason and wisdom to direct him: for we ought not to do, as Aristotle writeth in his time the manner was in Tuscany; To whip servants with sound of flutes and hautboys; namely, to make a sport and pastime of punishing men, and to solace ourselves with their punishment for pleasure's sake, and then afterwards, when we have done, repent us of it: for as the one is brutish and beastlike, so the other is as womanish and unmanly: but without grief and pleasure both, at what time as reason and judgment is in force, we ought to let justice take punishment, and leave none occasion at all for choler to get advantage.

But peradventure some one will say, that this is not properly the way to remedy or cure anger; but rather a putting by or precaution that we should not commit any of those faults which ordinarily follow that passion: Unto whom I answer thus; That the swelling of the spleen is not the cause but a symptom or accident of a fever: howbeit, if the said humour be fallen and the pain mitigated, the fever also will be much eased,

according as Hieronymus saith. Also, when I consider by what means choler is engendered: I see that one falleth into it upon this cause, another upon that: but in all of them it seemeth this general opinion there is, that they think themselves to be despised and naught set by. And therefore we ought to meet with such as seem to defend and maintain themselves, as being angry for just cause, and to cure them after this manner; namely, by diverting and removing from them, as far as ever we can, all suspicion of contempt and contumacy in those that have offended them and moved their anger; in laying the fault upon inconsiderate folly, necessity, sickness, infirmity and misery, as Sophocles did in these verses:

> For those, my lords, whose state is in distress,
> Have not their spirits and wits as heretofore:
> As fortune frowns, they waxen ever less,
> Nay, gone are quite, though fresh they were before.

And Agamemnon, albeit he laid the taking away of Briseis from Achilles upon Ate (that is to say) some fatal infortunity, yet

> He willing was and prest, him to content,
> And unto him rich gifts for to present.

For to beseech and intreat are signs of a man that despiseth not, and when the party who hath given offence becometh humble and lowly, he removeth all the opinion that might be conceived of contempt. But he that is in a fit of choler must not attend and wait until he see that, but rather help himself with the answer of Diogenes. These fellows here said one unto him, Do deride thee, Diogenes; but I (quoth he again) do not find that I am derided; even so ought a man who is angry not to be persuaded that he is contemned of another, but rather that himself hath just cause to contemn him, and to think that the fault committed did proceed of infirmity, error, heady-rashness, sloth and idleness, a base and illiberal mind, age or youth.

And as for our servants and friends, we must by all means quit them hereof, or pardon them at leastwise: For surely they cannot be thought to contemn us, in regard that they think us unable to be revenged, or men of no execution if we went about it: but it is either by reason of our remissness and mildness, or else of our love and affection, that we seem to be smally regarded by them, whiles our servants presume of our tractable nature, easy to be pacified, and our friends of our exceeding love that cannot be soon shaken off. But now we are provoked

to anger, not only against our wives, or servitors and friends, as being contemned by them; but also many times in our choler we fall upon inn-keepers, mariners and muleteers, when they be drunk, supposing that they despise us. And that which more is, we are offended with dogs when they bay or bark at us; and with asses if they chance to fling out and kick us. Like unto him who lifted up his hand to strike and beat him that did drive an ass; and when the man cried that he was an Athenian: But thou, I am sure, art no Athenian (quoth he) to the ass, and laid upon the poor beast as hard as he could, and gave him many a blow with his cudgel. But that which chiefly causeth us to be angry, and breedeth a continual disposition thereto in our minds, causing us so often to break out into fits of choler, which by little and little was engendered and gathered there before, is the love of our own selves, and a kind of froward surliness hardly to be pleased, together with a certain daintiness and delicacy, which all concurring in one, breed and bring forth a swarm (as it were) of bees, or rather a wasps' nest in us. And therefore there cannot be a better means for to carry ourselves mildly and kindly, towards our wives, our servants, familiars and friends, than a contented mind, and a singleness or simplicity of heart, when a man resteth satisfied with whatsoever is present at hand, and requireth neither things superfluous nor exquisite:

> But he that never is content
> With rost or sod, but cook is shent:
> However he be serv'd, I mean
> With more, with less, or in a mean:
> He is not pleas'd, nor one good word
> Can give of viands set on board,
> Without some snow who drinks no draught,
> Nor eateth bread in market bought.
> Who tastes no meat, b' it never so good,
> Serv'd up in dish of earth or wood:
> And thinks no bed nor pillow soft,
> Unless with down like sea aloft
> Stirr'd from beneath, it strut and swell;
> For otherwise he sleeps not well;

who with rods and whips plieth and hasteneth the servitors at the table, making them to run until they sweat again, crying and bawling at them to come away apace, as if they were not carrying dishes of meat, but plasters and cataplasms for some inflammation or painful impostume: subjecting himself after a slavish manner to a servile kind of diet and life, full of discontentment, quarrels and complaints: little knoweth such an one how by a continual cough, or many concussions and distemperatures, he hath brought his soul to an ulcerous and rheumatic

disposition about the seat and place of anger. And therefore we must use the body by frugality to take up and learn to be content with a competent mean (forasmuch as they who desire but a little, can never be disappointed nor frustrate of much), finding no fault, nor keeping any stir at the beginning about meat, but standing satisfied without saying a word, with that which God sendeth whatsoever it be, not fretting, vexing and tormenting ourselves at the table about everything, and in so doing, serving both ourselves and our company about us of friends, with the most unsavoury mess of meat, that is to wit, choler:

> A supper worse than this I do not see
> How possibly one can devised be.

Namely, whiles the servants be beaten, the wife chidden and reviled for the meat burnt, for smoke in the parlour, for want of salt, or for the bread over-stale and dry. But Arcesilaus upon a time with other friends of his, feasted certain strangers and hosts of his abroad, whose guest he had been; and after the supper was come in, and meat set upon the board, there wanted bread, by reason that his servants had forgotten and neglected to buy any: for such a fault as this, which of us here would not have cried out that the walls should have burst withal, and been ready to have thrown the house out of the window? And he laughing at the matter: He had need be a wise man (quoth he), I see well, that would make a feast and set it out as it should be. Socrates also upon a time, when he came from the wrestling school, took Euthydemus home with him to supper: but Xantippe, his wife, fell a-chiding and scolding with him at the board, reviling him with most bitter terms, so long, until at last in an anger down went table and all that was upon it: Whereupon Euthydemus arose, and was about to depart; but Socrates: Will you be gone? (quoth he). Why, do you not remember that the other day as we sat at supper in your house, there flew up to the board a hen and did as much for you? and yet were not we offended nor angry for the matter. And in very truth, we must entertain our friends and guests with courtesy, mirth, a smiling countenance, and affectionate love: and not to brow-beat them, nor yet put the servitors in a fright, and make them quake and tremble with our frowning looks. Also we ought so to accustom ourselves that we may be content to be served with any kind of vessels whatsoever, and not upon a daintiness to have a mind to this rather than to that, but to like all indifferently. And yet there be some so divers, that

although there be many cups and goblets standing upon the board, choose one from the rest, and cannot drink forsooth but out of that one: according as the stories do report of Marius, who loved one mazar, and could drink out of no other. Thus they do by their oil cruets and currying combs or rubbers, when they are at the bains or stouphs, taking a fancy and affection to some one above the rest: but if it chance that one of them be cracked, broken, or be lost and miscarry any way, then they are exceeding angry and fall to beating of their servants.

Such men, therefore, as find themselves to be choleric, should do well to forbear all rare and exquisite things, to wit, pots, cups, seal rings of excellent workmanship and precious stones. For that such costly jewels, if they be marred or lost, breed more anger and set men out of order, more than those which be ordinary and easy to be come by. And therefore, when Nero the emperor had caused to be made a certain pavilion or tabernacle eight square, which was both for the beauty and cost exceeding fair and sumptuous, and indeed an admirable piece of work. In this tabernacle (quoth Seneca) unto him, you have bewrayed, O Cæsar, that you are but a poor man: for if you lose this once, you shall never be able to recover and get the like again. And so it fell out indeed, for the ship wherein the same tabernacle was, chanced to be cast away upon the sea, and all was drowned. But Nero, calling to mind the words of Seneca, took the loss more patiently.

Moreover, this contentment of mind, and easiness to be pleased with anything in the house, causeth a man also to be more gentle, mild, and better contented with his servants and people about him: now if it work this effect in us toward our household servants, evident it is that we shall be likewise affected to our friends and those that be under our government. We see also, that slaves new bought are inquisitive as touching him who hath bought them; not whether he be superstitious and envious; but whether he be choleric and hasty or no. And to be brief, neither can husbands endure the pudicity and honesty of their wives; nor wives the love of their husbands; nor yet friends the mutual conversation one with another, if there do an angry and choleric humour go withal. Thus we see that neither marriage nor amity be tolerable with choler. Contrariwise, if anger be away, even drunkenness itself is tolerable and we can easily abide it: for the very ferula of god Bacchus is a sufficient punishment of drunkenness, if so be there be not choler therewith, which may cause Bacchus, that is, Strong

wine, instead of Lyæus and Chorius, that is to say, The Looser of cares and Leader of dances (which are his surnames), to be called Omestes and Mœnoles, which signify Cruel and Furious. As for simple madness of itself alone, the ellebore growing in Antycira is sufficient to cure: but if it be mingled with choler it causeth tragical fits, and those so strange, that a man would repute them for mere fables.

And therefore we must not give place to anger, neither in sport and pastime; for in lieu of goodwill it breedeth enmity: nor in conference and disputations; for it turneth the love and desire of knowledge into debate and contention: nor in deciding and judging causes; because to authority it addeth violence and insolency: nor in the teaching and instruction of our children; for it maketh them desperate and haters of learning: nor in prosperity; for it encreaseth the envy and grudge of men: nor yet in adversity, because it taketh away pity and compassion, when they who are fallen into any misfortune, shew themselves testy, froward and quarrelous to those who come to moan and mourn with them. This did Priamus, as we read in Homer:

> Avaunt (quoth he), you chiding guests,
> You odious mates, be gone;
> Have you no sorrows of your own,
> But you come me to moan?

On the other side, fair conditions and mild behaviour yieldeth succour and help in some cases; composeth and ordereth matters aright in others; dulceth and allayeth that which is tart and sour: and in one word, by reason of that kind, meek and gentle quality, it overcometh anger and all wayward testiness whatsoever. Thus it is reported of Euclides in a quarrel or variance between him and his brother: For when his brother had contested and said unto him; I would I might die, if I be not revenged of thee: he inferred again; Nay, let me die for it, if I persuade thee not otherwise before I have done; by which one word he presently won his brother's heart, so that he changed his mind, and they parted friends. Polemon likewise, at a certain time, when one who loved precious stones, and was sick for fair and costly rings and such-like curious jewels, did rail at him outrageously, answered not a word again, but looked very wistly upon one of the signets that the other had, and well considered the fashion and workmanship thereof: which, when the party perceived, taking as it should seem no small contentment, and being very well pleased that he so perused his jewel; Not so, Polemon (quoth he again), but look

upon it thus, between you and the light, and then you will think it much more beautiful. Aristippus fell out upon a time (I know not how) with Æschines, and was in a great choler and fit of anger: How now, Aristippus (quoth one who heard him so high and at such hot words), where is your amity and friendship all this while? Marry, asleep (quoth he), but I will waken it anon. With that he stept close to Æschines, and said: Think you me so unhappy every way and incurable, that I deserved not one admonishment at your hands? No marvel (quoth Æschines again) if I thought you (who for natural wit in all things else excel me) to see better in this case also than I, what is meet and expedient to be done. For true it is that the poet saith:

> The boar so wild, whose neck with bristles strong
> Is thick beset, the tender hand and soft
> Of woman nice, yea, and of infant young,
> By stroking fair, shall bend and turn (full oft)
> Much sooner far, and that with greater ease
> Than wrestlers strong with all their force and peise.

And we ourselves can skill how to tame wild beasts, we know how to make young wolves gentle, yea, and lions' whelps otherwhiles we carry about with us in our arms: but see, how we again afterwards, in a raging fit of choler, be ready to fling from us and cast out of our sight our own children, our friends and familiars, and all our household servants, our fellow-citizens and neighbours, we let loose our ire like some savage and furious beast, and this rage of ours we disguise and cloak forsooth with a colourable and false name, calling it hatred of vice. But herein (I suppose) we do no otherwise than in the rest of our passions and diseases of the mind; terming one, providence and forecast; another, liberality; and a third, piety and religion: and yet for all these pretences of goodly names, we cannot be cured of the vices which they palliate; to wit, timorousness, prodigality and superstition.

And verily, like as our natural seed (as Zeno said) is a certain mixture and composition derived and extracted from all the powers and faculties of the soul; even so, in mine opinion, a man may say that choler is a miscellany seed (as it were) and a dreg, made of all the passions of the mind: for plucked it is from pain, pleasure and insolent violence: Of envy it hath this quality, to joy in the harms of other men: it standeth much upon murder, but worse it is simply than murder: for the wrathful person striveth and laboureth not to defend and save himself from taking harm; but so he may mischief and over-

throw another, he careth not to come by a hurt and shrewd turn himself. It holdeth likewise of concupiscence and lust, and taketh of it the worse and more unpleasant part, in case it be (as it is indeed) a desire and appetite to grieve, vex, and harm another. And therefore, when we approach and come near to the houses of luxurious and riotous persons, we hear betimes in the morning a minstrel-wench sounding and playing the morrow-watch by break of day: we see the muddy-grounds and dregs (as one was wont to say) of the wine, to wit, the vomits of those who cast up their stomachs: we behold the pieces and fragments of broken garlands and chaplets: and at the door we find the lackeys and pages of them who ate within, drunken and heavy in the head with tippling strong wine.

But the signs that tell where hasty, choleric, and angry persons dwell, appear in the faces of their servants, in the marks and wales remaining after their whipping, and in their clogs, irons, and fetters about their feet. For in the houses of hasty and angry men, a man shall never hear but one kind of music; that is to say, the heavy note of wailing groans and piteous plaints; whiles either the stewards within are whipped and scourged, or the maidens racked and put to torture, in such sort that you would pity to see the dolours and pains of ire which she suffereth in those things that she lusteth after and taketh pleasure in. And yet as many of us as happen to be truly and justly surprised with choler oftentimes, for the hatred and detestation that we have of vices, ought to cut off that which is excessive therein and beyond measure, together with our over-light belief and credulity of reports concerning such as converse with us: For this is one of the causes that most of all doth engender and augment choler, when either he whom we took for an honest man proveth dishonest, and is detected for some naughtiness, or whom we reputed our friend is fallen into some quarrel and variance with us: as for myself, you know my nature and disposition, what small occasions make me both to love men effectually, and also to trust them confidently; and therefore (just as it falleth out with them who go over a false floor where the ground is not fast, but hollow under their feet) where I lean most and put my greatest trust for the love that I bear, there I offend most and soonest catch a fall: there (I say) am I grieved most also, when I see how I was deceived: As for that exceeding inclination and forwardness of mind, thus to love and affect a man, could I never yet to this day wean myself from, so inbred it is and settled in me: marry, to stay myself from giving credit

over-hastily and too much, I may peradventure use that bridle which Plato speaketh of, to wit, wary circumspection: For in recommending the mathematician Helicon, I praise him (quoth he) for a man, that is as much to say, as a creature by nature mutable and apt to change. And even those who have been well brought up in a city, to wit, in Athens, he saith that he is afraid likewise of them, lest being men, and coming from the seed of man, they do not one time or other bewray the weakness and infirmity of human nature: and Sophocles, when he speaketh thus:

> Who list to search through all deeds of mankind
> More bad than good he shall be sure to find,

seemeth to clip our wings, and disable us wonderfully. Howbeit, this difficulty and caution in judging of men and pleasing ourselves in the choice of friends, will cause us to be more tractable and moderate in our anger: for whatsoever cometh suddenly and unexpected, the same soon transporteth us beside ourselves. We ought, moreover, as Panatius teacheth us in one place, to practise the example of Anaxagoras, and like as he said, when news came of his son's death; I know well (quoth he) that I begat him a mortal man; so in every fault of our servants or others that shall whetten our choler, each one of us may sing this note to himself: I knew well that when I bought this slave he was not a wise philosopher: I wist also that I had gotten for my friend not one altogether void of affections and passions: neither was I ignorant when I took a wife that I wedded a woman.

Now if withal a man would evermore, when he seeth others do amiss, add this more unto the ditty as Plato teacheth us, and sing thus: Am not I also such another? turning the discursion of his judgment from things abroad to those which are within himself, and among his complaints and reprehensions of other men, come in with a certain caveat of his own, and fear to be reproved himself in the like; he would not haply be so quick and forward in the hatred and detestation of other men's vices, seeing that himself hath so much need of pardon. But on the contrary side, every one of us, when he is in the heat of choler and punisheth another, hath these words of severe Aristides and precise Cato ready enough in his mouth: Steal not, sirrah: Make no more lies: Why art thou so idle then? etc. To conclude (that which of all others is most unseemly and absurd), we reprove in anger others for being angry; and

such faults as were committed in choler, those ourselves will punish in choler; not verily as the physicians use to do, who

> A bitter medicine into the body pour,
> When bitter choler they mean to purge and scour.

But we rather do increase the same with our bitterness, and make more trouble than was before.

And therefore, when I think and discourse with myself of these matters, I endeavour withal and assay to cut off somewhat from needless curiosity. For surely this narrow searching and streight looking into everything, for to spy and find out a fault; as for example, to sift thy servant and call him into question for all his idle hours; to pry into every action of thy friend; to see where about thy son goeth, and how he spendeth all his time; to listen what whispering there is between thy wife and another, be the very means to breed much anger, daily brawls, and continual jars, which grow in the end to the height of curstness and frowardness, hard to be pleased with anything whatsoever. For according as Euripides saith in one place, we ought in some sort to do:

> All great affairs God ay himself directeth,
> But matters small, to fortune he committeth.

For mine own part, I do not think it good to commit any business to fortune; neither would I have a man of understanding to be retchless in his own occasions: But with some things to put his wife in trust; others to make over unto servants, and in some matters to use his friends. Herein to bear himself like a prince and great commander, having under him his deputies, governors, receivers, auditors, and procurators; reserving unto himself and to the disposition of his own judgment, the principal affairs and those of greatest importance. For like as little letters or a small print do more offend and trouble the eyes than greater, for that the eyes be very intentive upon them; even so, small matters do quickly move choler, which thereupon soon getteth an ill custom in weightier matters. But above all, I ever reckon that saying of Empedocles to be a divine precept and heavenly oracle, which admonisheth us *To fast from sin.* I commended also these points and observations, as being right honest, commendable, and beseeming him that maketh profession of wisdom and philosophy, which we use to vow unto the gods in our prayers: Namely, *To forbear both wine and women, and so to live sober and chaste a whole year together,*

and in the meanwhile to serve God with a pure and undefiled heart: Also, to limit and set out a certain time, wherein we would not make a lie, observing precisely not to speak any vain and idle word, either in earnest or in bourd.

With these and such-like observations also I acquainted and furnished my soul, as being no less affected to religion and godliness than studious of learning and philosophy: Namely, first enjoined myself to pass a certain few holy-days without being angry or offended upon any occasion whatsoever; no less than I would have vowed to forbear drunkenness, and abstain altogether from wine, as if I sacrificed at the feast Nephalia [wherein no wine was spent], or celebrated the solemnity Melisponda [in which honey only was used.] Thus, having made an entrance; I tried afterwards a month or two by little and little what I could do, and ever I gained more and more time, exercising myself still to forbear sin with all my power and might. Thus I proceeded and went forward daily, blessing myself with good words and striving to be mild, quiet and void of malice, pure and clean from evil speeches and lewd deeds: but principally from that passion which for a little pleasure and the same not very lovely, bringeth with it great troubles and shameful repentance in the end. Thus with the grace of God assisting me somewhat (as I take it) in this good resolution and course of mine, experience itself approved and confirmed my first intent and judgment, whereby I was taught, That this mildness, clemency and debonair humanity is to none of our familiars who live and converse daily with us, so sweet, so pleasant and agreeable as to ourselves who have these virtues and good qualities within us.

OF CURIOSITY

THE SUMMARY

[The former treatise hath shewed unto us how many mischiefs and inconveniences anger causeth, teaching us the means how to beware of it. Now Plutarch dealeth with another vice, no less dangerous than it, which bendeth to the opposite extremity. For whereas ire doth so bereave a man of the use of reason during the access and fit thereof, that the choleric and furious persons differ not one from another, but in the space of time. This curiosity which now is in hand, being masked under the name of wisdom and hability of spirit, is (to say a truth) a covert and hidden fury, which carrieth the mind of the curious person past himself, for to gather and heap from all parts the ordure and filthiness of another, and afterwards to bring the same into himself, and to make thereof a very storehouse, for to infect his own self first, and then others, according as the malignity and malice, the follies, backbiting, and slanders of these curious folk do sufficiently declare. To the end, therefore, that every man who loveth virtue should divert from such a malady, our author sheweth that the principal remedy for to preserve us from it, is to turn this curiosity to our own selves; namely, to examine our own persons more diligently than others. Which point he amplifieth by setting down on the contrary side the blindness of those who are over-busy and curious. Then cometh he to declare why a curious person goeth forth always out of his own house for to enter into another man's; to wit, because of his own filthiness, which by that means he cannot smell and perceive; but whiles he will needs go to stir and rake into the life of others, he snareth and entangleth himself, and so perisheth in his own folly and indiscretion. Afterwards proceeding to prescribe the remedies for the cure of curiosity, when he had deciphered the villanies and indignities thereof, together with the nature of curious persons, and the enormous vices which accompany them, he requireth at our hands that we should not be desirous to know things which be vile, base, lewd or unprofitable; that we should hold in our eyes, and not cast them at random and adventure within the house of another, that we should not seek after the bruit and rumours that are spread in meetings and companies; that we otherwhiles should forbear even such things whereof the use is lawful and permitted: also to take heed that we do not enter nor sound too deep into our own affairs; Finally, not to be rash and heady in those things that we do, be they never so small. All these points premised, he adorneth with inductions, similitudes and choice examples, and knitteth up all with one conclusion, which proveth that curious folk ought to be ranged among the most mischievous and dangerous persons in the world.]

The best way haply it were altogether to avoid an house and not therein at all to dwell, which is close, without fresh air, dark, standing bleak and cold, or otherwise unhealthful: Howbeit, if a man by reason that he hath been long used to such an house, delight in that seat, and will there abide, he may either, by altering the prospects and removing the lights, or by changing the stairs into another place, or else by opening the doors of one side, and shutting them upon another, make the house more lightsome, better exposed to the wind for to receive fresh air, and in one word, more wholesome than before. And verily some have much amended whole cities by the like alterations: as, for example, men say that one Chæron in times past turned my native city and place of nativity, Chæronea, to lie eastward, which before looked toward the western wind Zephyrus, and received the sun setting from the mount Parnassus. And Empedocles, the natural philosopher, by stopping up the mouth or deep chink of a certain mountain between two rocks, which breathed out a noisome and pestilent southern wind upon all the champaign country and plain underneath, was thought to have put by the plague, which, by occasion of that wind, reigned ordinarily before in that country.

Now forasmuch as there be certain hurtful and pestiferous passions, which send up into our soul tempestuous troubles and darkness, it were to be wished that they were chased out quite, and thrown down to the very ground; whereby we might give ourselves a free prospect, an open and clear light, a fresh and pure air; or if we be not so happy, yet at leastwise endeavour we ought, by all means possible, to change, alter, translate, transpose and turn them so about, as they may be found more fit and commodious to serve our turns. As, for example, and to go no farther for the matter, curiosity, which I take to be a desire to know the faults and imperfections in other men, is a vice or disease which seemeth not clear of envy and maliciousness: And unto him that is infected therewith may very well be said:

> Most spightful and envious man,
> Why dost thou ever find
> With piercing eyes thy neighbour's faults,
> And in thine own art blind?

avert thine eyes a little from things without, and turn thy much meddling and curiosity to those that be within. If thou take so great a pleasure and delight to deal in the knowledge

and history of evil matters, thou hast work enough iwis at home, thou shalt find plenty thereof within to occupy thyself:

> For look what water runs along
> An isthmus or isle we see,
> Or leaves lie spread about the oak,
> Which numbered cannot be.

Such a multitude shalt thou find of sins in thy life, of passions in thy soul, and of oversights in thy duties. For like as Xenophon saith, That good stewards of an household have one proper room by itself for those utensils or implements which serve for sacrifice; another for vessel that cometh to the table; in one place he layeth up the instruments and tools for tillage and husbandry, and in another apart from the rest he bestoweth weapons, armour and furniture for the wars; even so shalt thou see within thyself a number of manifold vices how they are digested: some proceeding from envy, others from jealousy; some from idleness, others from niggardise: take account of these (I advise thee), survey and peruse them over well: shut all the doors and windows that yield prospect unto thy neighbours: stop up the avenues that give access and passage to curiosity: But set open all other doors that lead into thine own bedchamber, and other lodgings for men, into thy wife's cabinet and the nursery, into the rooms where thy servants keep: There shalt thou meet wherewith to amuse and busy thyself: there may curiosity and desire to know everything be employed in exercises neither unprofitable nor malicious: nay, in such as be commodious, wholesome and tending to salvation: namely, whiles every one calleth himself to account, saying thus:

> Where have I done, what good I have done,
> Or what have I misdone?
> Where have I slipt, what duty begun
> Is left by me undone?

But now, according as fables make report, that Lamia the witch, whiles she is at home is stark blind, and doth nothing but sing, having her eyes shut up close within a little box; but when she means to go abroad she takes them forth, and setteth them in their right place, and seeth well enough with them; even so, every one of us when we go forth, set unto that evil meaning and intention which we have to others, an eye to look into them, and that is curiosity and over-much meddling; but in our own errors, faults and trespasses we stumble and fail through ignorance, as having neither eyes to see, nor light about them

whereby they may be seen. And therefore it is, that a busy fellow and curious meddler doth more good to his enemies than to himself; for their faults he discovereth and bringeth to light, to them he sheweth what they ought to beware of, and what they are to amend: but all this while he overseeth, or rather seeth not the most things that are done at home, so deeply amused he is and busy in spying what is amiss abroad. Howbeit, wise Ulysses would not abide to speak and confer with his own mother, before he had inquired of the prophet those things for which he went down into hell; and when he had once heard them, then he turned to his mother and other women also, asking what was Tyro? what was Chloris? and what was the occasion and cause that Eperaste came by her death?

> Who knit her neck within a deadly string,
> And so from beam of lofty house did hing.

But we, quite contrary, sitting still in supine idleness and ignorance, neglecting and never regarding that which concerneth ourselves, go to search into the genealogy and pedigrees of others; and we can tell readily that our neighbours' grandfather was no better than a base and servile Syrian; that his nurse came out of barbarous Thracia; that such an one is in debt, and oweth three talents, and is behindhand besides and in arrearages for non-payment of interest for the use thereof.

Inquisitive also we are in such matters as these: From whence came such a man's wife? what it was that such a one and such a one spake when they were alone together in an odd corner? Socrates was clean of another quality; he would go up and down inquiring and casting about what were the reasons wherewith Pythagoras persuaded men to his opinion. Aristippus likewise, at the solemnity of the Olympian games, falling into the company of Ischomachus, asked of him, what were the persuasions that Socrates used to young folk, whereby they became so affectionate unto him; and after he had received from him some small seeds (as it were) and a few samples of those reasons and arguments, he was so moved and passionate therewith, that presently his body fell away, he looked pale, poor and lean, until he having sailed to Athens in this wonderful thirst and ardent heat, had drunk his fill at the fountain and wellhead itself, known the man, heard his discourses and learned his philosophy; the sum and effect whereof was this: That a man should first know his own maladies, and then the means to be cured and delivered of them. But some there be who

of all things cannot abide to see their own life, as being unto them the most unpleasant sight of all others; neither love they to bend and turn their reason as a light to their own selves: but their mind being full of all sorts of evil, fearing and ready to quake for to behold what things are within, leapeth forth (as one would say) out of doors, and goeth wandering to and fro, searching into the deeds and words of other men, and by this means feedeth and fatteth (as it were) her own malicious naughtiness. For like as a hen many times, having meat enough within house set before her, loveth to go into some corner, and there keepeth a-pecking and scraping of the ground,

> To find perhaps one seely barley corn
> As she was wont on dunghill heretoforn;

even so these busy polypragmons, passing by those ordinary speeches and matters which are exposed and open for every man; not regarding (I say) the reports and narrations which are free for each one to discourse of, and which neither any man hath to do, to forbid and warn them for to ask and inquire of, nor will be displeased if peradventure he should be demanded and asked the question of them, go up and down in the meantime to gather and learn all the secret and hidden evils of every house. Certes, a pretty answer it was of an Egyptian, and pertinent to the purpose, who when one asked him what it was that he carried covered all over, and so enwrapped within a cloth: Marry (quoth he), covered it is even for this cause, that thou shouldest not know what it is: And thou likewise, that art so busy, why dost thou intermeddle in that which is concealed? Be sure that if there were no evil therein, kept close it should not be.

And verily, it is not the manner and custom for anybody to enter boldly into the house of another man, without knocking at the door; for which purpose we use porters in these days; whereas in old time there were rings and hammers which served the turn, and by rapping at the gates, gave warning to those within, to the end that no stranger might meet the mistress at unawares in the hall or middes of the house; or come suddenly upon a virgin or young damosel her daughter, and find her out of her chamber; or take some of the servants a-beating, or the wenches and chamber-maids chiding and scolding aloud: whereas a busy fellow loveth alife to step secretly into a house, for to see and hear such disorders; and you shall never know him willingly to come and see an honest house and well governed

(though one should call and pray him never so fair), but ready he is to discover and set abroad in the view of the whole world such things; for which we use locks, keys, bolts, bars, portals and gate-houses. Those winds (saith Ariston) are we most troubled and offended with which drive open our cloaks and garments that cover us, or blow and whisk them over our heads: but busy polypragmons doth lay abroad and display not the cloaks of their neighbours nor their coats; but discovereth their walls, setteth wide open their doors, and like a wind, pierceth, creepeth and entereth so far as to the tender-bodied and soft-skinned maiden, searching and inquiring in every bacchanal, in all dancings, wakes and night feasts, for some matter to raise slanders of her. And as one Cleon was noted by an old comical poet upon the stage:

> Whose hands were both in Ætolie,
> But heart and mind in Clopidie;

Even so the spirit of a curious and busy person is at one time in the stately palaces of rich and mighty men, in the little houses of mean and poor folk, in kings' courts, and in the bed-chambers of new-wedded wives; it is inquisitive in all matters, searching as well the affairs of strangers and travellers, as negotiations of lords and rulers, and otherwhile not without danger of his own person. For much like as if a man upon a kind of wanton curiosity will needs be tasting of aconite or libard-bane, to know (forsooth) the quality of it, cometh by a mischief and dieth of it before he can know anything thereof; so they that love to be prying into the faults of great persons, many times overthrow themselves before they come to any knowledge. For such as cannot be content with the abundant rays and radiant beams of the sun which are spread so clear over all things, but will needs strive and force themselves impudently to look full upon the circle of his body, and audaciously will presume and venture to pierce his brightness and enter into the very minds of his inward light, commonly dazzle their eyes and become stark blind. And therefore well and properly answered Philippides, the writer of comedies, upon a time when King Lysimachus spake thus unto him; What wouldest thou have me to impart unto thee of my goods, Philippides? What it pleaseth your majesty (quoth he), so it be nothing of your secrets. For to say a truth, the most pleasant and beautiful things simply, which belong to the estate of kings, do shew without, and are exposed to the view and sight of every man; to wit, their sumptuous

feasts, their wealth and riches, their magnificent port and pomp in public places, their bountiful favours, and liberal gifts: But is there anything secret and hidden within. Take heed, I advise thee, how thou approach and come near, beware (I say) that thou do not stir and meddle therein.

The joy and mirth of a prince in prosperity cannot be concealed; he cannot laugh when he is disposed to play and be merry but it is seen; neither when he mindeth and doth prepare to shew some gracious favour or to be bountiful unto any is his purpose hidden; but mark what thing he keepeth close and secret, the same is terrible, heavy, stern, unpleasant, yea, ministering no access nor cause of laughter: namely, the treasure-house (as it were) of some rancour and festered anger; a deep design or project of revenge; jealousy of his wife, some suspicion of his own son; or diffidence and distrust in some of his minions, favourites and friends. Fly from this black cloud that gathereth so thick; for whensoever that which is now hidden shall break forth, thou shalt see what cracks of thunder and flashes of lightning will ensue thereupon.

But what be the means to avoid it? Marry (even as I said before), to turn and to withdraw thy curiosity another way; and principally to set thy mind upon matters that are more honest and delectable: Advise thyself and consider curiously upon the creatures in heaven, in earth, in the air, and in the sea. Art thou delighted in the contemplation of great or small things? if thou take pleasure to behold the greater, busy thyself about the sun; seek where he goeth down, and from when he riseth? Search into the cause of the mutations in the moon, why it should so change and alter as it doth, like a man or woman? what the reason is that she loseth so conspicuous a light, and how it cometh to pass that she recovereth it again?

> How is it, when she hath been out of sight
> That fresh she seems and doth appear with light?
> First young and fair whiles that she is but new
> Till round and full we see her lovely hew:
> No sooner is her beauty at this height
> But fade she doth anon, who was so bright,
> And by degrees she doth decrease and wane
> Until at length she comes to naught again.

And these truly are the secrets of nature, neither is she offended and displeased with those who can find them out. Distrustest thou thyself to attain unto these great things? then search into smaller matters, to wit, what might the reason be that among trees and other plants, some be always fresh and green,

why they flourish at all times, and be clad in their gay clothes, shewing their riches in every season of the year; why others again be one while like unto them in this their pride and glory; but afterward you shall have them again like unto an ill husband in his house; namely, laying out all at once, and spending their whole wealth and substance at one time, until they be poor, naked, and beggarly for it. Also what is the cause that some bring forth their fruit long-wise, others cornered, and others round or circular? But peradventure thou hast no great mind to busy thyself and meddle in these matters, because there is no hurt nor danger at all in them.

Now if there be no remedy, but that curiosity should ever apply itself to search into evil things after the manner of some venomous serpent, which loveth to feed, to live and converse in pestilent woods, let us lead and direct it to the reading of histories, and present unto it abundance and store of all wicked acts, lewd and sinful deeds. There shall curiosity find the ruins of men, the wasting and consuming of their state, the spoil of wives and other women, the deceitful trains of servants to beguile their masters, the calumniations and slanderous surmises raised by friends, poisoning casts, envy, jealousy, shipwreck and overthrow of houses, calamities and utter undoing of princes and great rulers: Satisfy thyself herewith to the full, and take thy pleasure therein as much as thou wilt; never shalt thou trouble or grieve any of thy friends and acquaintance in so doing. But it should seem that curiosity delighteth not in such naughty things that be very old and long since done; but in those which be fresh, fire new, hot and lately committed, as joying more to behold new tragedies. As for comedies and matters of mirth, she is not greatly desirous to be acquainted with such. And therefore, if a man do make report of a marriage, discourse of a solemn sacrifice, or of a goodly shew or pomp that was set forth, the curious busybody (whom we speak of) will take small regard thereto and hear it but coldly and negligently. He will say that the most part of all this he heard already by others, and bid him who relateth such narrations to pass them over or be brief, and cut off many circumstances. Marry, if one that sits by him chance to set tale on end, and begin to tell him there was a maiden defloured, or a wife abused in adultery: if he recount of some process of law or action commenced, of discord and variance between two brethren; you shall see him then not to yawn and gape as though he had list to sleep; you shall not perceive him to nod; he will make no

excuse at all that his leisure will not serve to hear out the tale,

> But bids say on, and tell us more:
> And close he holds his ear therefore.

So that this sentence,

> How sooner much are ill news understood
> And heard by men (alas) than tidings good!

is well and truly verified of these curious polypragmons. For like as cupping glasses, boxes, and ventoses draw the worst matter out of the flesh; even so, the ears of curious and busy folk are willing to receive and admit the most lewd and naughtiest speeches that are: or rather, to speak more properly, as towns and cities have certain cursed and unlucky gates, at which they send out malefactors to execution, carry and throw forth their dung, ordure, filthiness, and cleansings whatsoever, but never cometh in or goeth out that way anything that pure is and holy; semblably, the ears of these curious intermeddlers be of the same nature: for there entereth and passeth into them nothing that is honest, civil and lovely; but the bruit and rumours of cruel murders have access unto them, and there make abroad, bringing therewith wicked, abominable, profane and cursed reports: and as one said:

> The only bird that in my house doth ever chant and sing,
> Both night and day, is doleful moan, much sorrow and wailing.

So this is the muse, siren and mermaid alone that busy folk have; neither is there anything that they hearken to more willingly: for curiosity is an itching desire to hear secrets and hidden matters: and well you wot that no man will lightly conceal any good thing that he hath; considering that many times we make semblance of good parts that be not in us. And therefore the busy intermeddler who is so desirous to know and hear of evils, is subject to that which the Greeks call ὄπιχαιρεσκακία, a vice, cousin-german or sister rather to envy and eye-biting.

Forasmuch as envy is nothing else but the grief for another man's good: and the foresaid ὄπιχαιρεσκακία the joy for his harm: and verily both these infirmities proceed from an untoward root, even another untamed vice and savage disposition, to wit, malignity or malice. And this we know well, that so irksome and odious it is to every man for to bewray and reveal the secrets, evils and vices which he hath, that many men have chosen to die rather than to discover and open unto physicians any of their hidden maladies, which they carry about them. Now suppose that Heraclitus or Erosistratus, the physicians;

nay, Æsculapius himself, whiles he was a mortal man, should come to an house furnished with drugs, medicines and instruments requisite for the cure of diseases, and ask whether any man there had a *fistula in ano*, that is, an hollow and hidden ulcer within his fundament? Or if she be a woman, whether she have a cankerous sore within her matrice (albeit in this art such inquisitive curiosity is a special means, making for the good and the health of the sick): each one, I suppose, would be ready to hunt and chase away from the house such a physician, who, unsent for, and before any need required, came upon his own accord and motion in a bravery to inquire and learn other folks' maladies.

What shall we say then to these busy meddlers, who inquire of another the selfsame infirmities and worse too? Not of any mind at all to cure and heal the same, but only to detect and set them abroad; In which respect they are by good right the most odious persons in the world. For we hardly can abide publicans, customers, and toll-gatherers, but are mightily offended with them, not when they exact of us and cause us to pay toll for any commodities or wares that are openly brought in; but when they keep a ferreting and searching for such things as be hidden, and meddle with the wares and carriages of other men: notwithstanding that law granteth and public authority alloweth them so to do; yea, and if they do it not, they sustain loss and damage themselves. But contrariwise, these curious fellows let their own business alone, and pass not which end go forward, caring not to hinder themselves, whiles they be intentive to the affairs of other men. Seldom go they into the country, for that they cannot endure the quietness and still silence of the wild and solitary fields. But if haply after long time they make a start thither, they cast an eye to their neighbours' vines, rather than to their own; they inquire how many beeves or oxen of his died? or what quantity of wine soured under his hand? and no sooner are they full of these news, but into the city they trudge and make haste again. As for the good farmer and painful husbandman indeed, he is not very willing to give ear unto those news, which without his hearkening after come from the city of the own accord, and are brought unto him, for his saying is:

> My ditcher will anon both tell and talk
> Upon what points concluded was the peace,
> For now the knave about such news doth waik,
> And busy he, to listen doth not cease.

But in truth, these busybodies, avoiding country life and husbandry, as a vain trade and foolish occupation, a cold manner of living, which bringeth forth no great and tragical matter, intrude and thrust themselves into the high courts of justice, the tribunal seats, the market-place and public pulpits where speeches be made unto the people, great assemblies, and the most frequented quarter of the haven where the ships ride at anchor, what: No news? saith one of them. How now? Were you not this morning at the market or in the common place? What then: How think you, is not the city mightily changed and transformed within these three hours? Now if it chance that some one or other make an overture, and have something to say as touching those points, down he alights on foot from his horse, he embraceth the man, kisseth him, and there stands attending and giving ear unto him. But say that the party whom he thus encountereth and meeteth upon the way, tell him that he hath no news to report: What sayst thou? (will he infer again and that in displeasure and discontentment): Were not thou in the market-place of late? Didst not thou pass by the prince's court? Hadst thou no talk or conference at all with those that came out of Italy? In regard of such, therefore, as these, I hold well with the magistrates of the city Locri, and commend a law of theirs: That if any citizen had been abroad in the country, and upon his return home demanded what news? he should have a fine set on his head. For like as cooks pray for nothing but good store of fatlings to kill for the kitchen, and fishmongers plenty of fishes; even so curious and busy people wish for a world of troubles and a number of affairs, great news, alterations and changes of state: to the end that they might evermore be provided of gain, to chase and hunt after, yea, and to kill.

Well and wisely, therefore, did the law-giver of the Thurians, when he gave order and forbade expressly, That no citizen should be taxed, noted by name, or scoffed at upon the stage in any comedy, save only adulterers and these busy persons. For surely adultery may be compared well to a kind of curiosity, searching into the pleasures of another: seeking (I say) and inquiring into those matters which are kept secret, and concealed from the view of the whole world. And as for curiosity, it seemeth to be a resolution or looseness, like a palsy or corruption, a detection of secrets and laying them naked: For it is an ordinary thing with those who be inquisitive and desirous of many news for to be blabs also of their tongues, and to be

prattling abroad; which is the reason that Pythagoras enjoined young men five years' silence, which he called *echemychia*, abstinence from all speech, or holding of their tongue.

Moreover, it cannot otherwise be chosen but that foul and cursed language also should accompany curiosity; for look what thing soever busybodies hear willingly, the same they love to tell and blurt out as quickly; and such things as with desire and care they gather from one, they utter to another with joy: Whereupon it cometh to pass that over and above other inconveniences which this vice ministereth unto them that are given to it, an impediment it is to their own appetite. For as they desire to know much, so every man observeth them, is beware of them, and endeavoureth to conceal all from them. Neither are they willing to do anything in their sight, nor delighted to speak aught in their hearing, but if there be any question in hand to be debated, or business to be considered and consulted of, all men are content to put off the conclusion and resolution unto another time; namely, until the curious and busy person be out of the way. And say, that whiles men are in sad and secret conference, or about some serious business, there chance one of these busybodies to come in place, presently all is hushed, and everything is removed aside and hidden, no otherwise than folk are wont to set out of the way victuals where a cat doth haunt, or when they see her ready to run by; insomuch as many times those things which other men may both hear and see safely, the same may not be done or said before them only.

Therefore also it followeth by good consequence, that a busy and curious person is commonly so far out of credit that no man is willing to trust him for anything; in such sort that we commit our letters missive and sign manual sooner to our servants and mere strangers than to our friends and familiars, if we perceive them given to this humour of much meddling. But that worthy knight Bellerophontes was so far from this, that he would not break open those letters which he carried, though they were written against himself, but forbare to touch the king's epistle, no less than he abstained from the queen his wife, even by one and the same virtue of continence. For surely, curiosity is a kind of incontinency, as well as is adultery; and this moreover it hath besides, that joined there is with it much folly and extreme want of wit: For were it not a part (think you) of exceeding blockish senselessness, yea, and madness in the highest degree, to pass by so many women that be common, and everywhere to be had; and then to make means with great

cost and expense, to some one kept under lock and key, and besides sumptuous: notwithstanding it fall out many times that such an one is as ill-favoured as she is foul? Semblably, and even the same do our curious folk: they omit and cast behind them many fair and goodly sights to behold, many excellent lectures worth the hearing, many disputations, discourses, honest exercises and pastimes; but in other men's letters they keep a puddering, they open and read them, they stand like eavesdroppers under their neighbours' walls, hearkening what is done or said within, they are ready to intrude themselves to listen what whispering there is between servants of the house; what secret talk there is among silly women when they be in some odd corner, and, as many times they are by this means not free from danger, so always they meet with shame and infamy.

And therefore very expedient it were for such curious folk, if they would shift off and put by this vice of theirs, eftsoons to call to mind (as much as they can) what they have either known or heard by such inquisition: for if (as Simonides was wont to say) that when he came (after some time between) to open his desks and coffers, he found one which was appointed for gifts and rewards always full, the other ordained for thanks and the graces void and empty: so, a man after a good time past, set open the store-house of curiosity, and look into it what is therein, and see it top full of many unprofitable, vain and unpleasant things; peradventure the very outward sight and face thereof will discontent and offend him, appearing in every respect so loveless and toyish as it is. Go to then: if one should set in hand to turn over leaf by leaf the books of ancient writers, and when he hath picked forth and gathered out the worst, make one volume of all together, to wit, of those headless and unperfect verses of Homer, which haply begin with a short syllable, and therefore be called ἀκέφαλοι: or of the solecisms and incongruities which be found in tragedies: or of the undecent and intemperate speeches which Archilochus framed against women, whereby he defamed and shamed himself: were he not (I pray you) worthy of this tragical curse:

> A foul ill take thee, thou lewd wretch,
> That lovest to collect
> The faults of mortal men now dead,
> The living to infect.

But to let these maledictions alone, certes, this treasuring and scoring up by him of other men's errors and misdeeds, is both unseemly, and also unprofitable: much like unto that city which

Philip built of purpose, and peopled it with the most wicked, graceless and incorrigible persons that were in his time, calling it Poneropolis when he had so done.

And therefore these curious meddlers in collecting and gathering together on all sides the errors, imperfections, defaults, and solecisms (as I may so say) not of verses or poems, but of other men's lives, make of their memory a most unpleasant archive or register, and uncivil record, which they ever carry about them. And like as at Rome, some there be who never cast eye toward any fine pictures, or goodly statues, no, nor so much as make any account to cheapen beautiful boys and fair wenches which there stand to be sold, but rather go up and down the market where monsters in nature are to be bought, seeking and learning out where be any that want legs, whose arms and elbows turn the contrary way like unto cats; or who have three eyes apiece in their heads, or be headed like unto the ostrich: taking pleasure (I say) to see if there be born

> A mongrel mixt of divers sorts,
> False births, unkind or strange aborts.

But if a man should bring them to see such sights as these ordinarily, the very thing itself would soon give them enough, yea and breed a loathing in them of such ugly monsters; even so it fareth with those who busy themselves and meddle in searching narrowly into the imperfections of other men's lives, the reproaches of their stocks and kindred, the faults, errors, and troubles that have happened in other houses; if they call to mind what like defects they have found and known beforetime, they shall soon find that their former observations have done them small pleasure, or wrought them as little profit.

But the greatest means to divert this vicious passion is use and custom; namely, if we begin a great way off and long before to exercise and acquaint ourselves in a kind of continency in this behalf, and so learn to temper and rule ourselves; for surely use it was and custom that caused this vice to get such an head, increasing daily by little and little, and growing from worse to worse: But how and after what manner we should be inured to this purpose we shall see and understand as we treat of exercise withal.

First and foremost, therefore, begin we will at the smallest and most slender things, and which most quickly may be effected. For what matter of difficulty is it for a man in the way as he travelleth, not to amuse and busy his head in reading

epitaphs or inscriptions of sepulchres? or what pain is it for us as we walk along the galleries, to pass over with our eyes the writings upon the walls; supposing thus much secretly within ourselves, as a maxim or general rule: That there is no goodness, no pleasure, nor profit at all in such writings: for there you may read, That some one doth remember another, and make mention of him by way of hearty commendations in good part; or such an one is the best friend that I have, and many other such-like mottoes are there to be seen and read, full of toys and vanities, which at first seem not to do any hurt if one read them, but in truth, secretly they do much harm, in that they breed in us a custom and desire to seek after needless and impertinent matters. For like as hunters suffer not their hounds to range out of order, nor to follow every scent, but keep them up and hold them in by their collars, reserving by that means their smelling pure and neat altogether for their proper work, to the end that they should be more eager and hot to trace the footing of their game, and as the poet saith:

> With scent most quick of nostrils after kind,
> The tracks of beast so wild, in chase to find;

even so, we ought to cut off these excursions and foolish trains that curious folk make to hear and see everything; to keep them short (I say) and turn them another way to the seeing and hearing only of that which is good and profitable. Also, as we observe in eagles and lions, that whiles they go upon the ground they draw their talons and claws inward, for fear lest they should dull the sharp edge and wear the points thereof; so considering that curiosity hath a certain quick conceit and fine edge (as it were), apt to apprehend and know many things, let us take heed that we do not employ and blunt the same in the worst and vilest of all others.

Secondly, we are to accustom ourselves as we pass by another man's door not to look in, nor to cast our eyes to anything whatsoever that there is: for that the eye is one of the hands that curiosity useth. But let us always have in readiness and think upon the apothegm of Xenocrates, who was wont to say that it skilled not, but was all one, whether we set our feet or eyes within the house of another man. For it is neither meet and just, nor an honest and pleasant sight, according to the old verse:

> My friend or stranger, whatever you be,
> You shall within all things deformed see.

And what be those for the most part which are seen in houses? dishes, trenchers and such-like utensils and small vessels lying on the bare ground, or one upon another disorderly: the wenches set and doing just nothing: and lightly a man shall not find ordinarily ought of importance or delight. Now the very cast of the eye upon such things doth therewith turn away the mind; the intentive looking thereupon is unseemly, and the using thereof stark naught. Diogenes verily upon a time seeing Dioxippus, when he entered in his triumphant chariot into the city for winning the best prize at the Olympian games, how as he rode he could not chuse but set his eye upon a certain fair damosel, who was in place to behold this pomp and solemn entrance of his, but evermore his eye followed her, whether she were before or behind him: Behold (quoth he) our victorious and triumphant champion, how a young wench hath him sure enough by the neck, and doth writhe him which way she list! Semblably, see you not how these curious folk have their necks bended aside at every foolish sight, and how they turn about with each vanity that they hear and see, after once they have gotten an habit or custom to look every way and to carry a rolling eye in their heads? But in mine opinion it is not meet that our senses should gad and wander abroad, like a wild and untaught girl, but when reason hath sent it forth to some business; after it hath been there employed and done the errand about which it was set, to return speedily again unto her mistress the soul, and make report how she hath sped and what she hath done? and then afterwards to stay at home decently like a modest waiting-maiden, giving attendance upon reason, and ready always at her command. But now happeneth that which Sophocles saith:

> The headstrong jades that will no bit abide,
> Hate him perforce who should them rein and guide.

The senses having not met with good instructions (as I said before), nor been trained to right ways, run before reason upon their own accord, and draw with them many times the understanding, and send it headlong after such things as are not seemly and decent. And therefore false is that which is commonly reported of Democritus the philosopher: namely, that willingly he dimmed and quenched (as it were) his own sight, by fixing his eyes fast upon a fiery and ardent mirror, to take the reverberation of the light from thence, to the end that they should not disturb the mind by calling out eftsoons the inward

intelligence, but suffer it to keep house within, and to be employed in objects intellectual, as if the windows that regard the street and highway were shut up. Howbeit most true it is, that those who for the most part occupy their understanding have least use of their senses: which is the reason that in old time they both builded the temples of the Muses, that is to say, houses ordained for students, which they named Musæa, as far as they could from cities and great towns: and also called the night Euphrone, as one would say, a friend to sage advice and counsel; as supposing that quiet rest, repose and stillness from all disturbance make very much for contemplation, and invention of those things that we study and seek for.

Moreover, no harder matter is it nor of greater difficulty than the rest, when in the open market-place or common hall, men are at high words, reproaching and reviling one another, not to approach and come near unto them. Also, if there be any great concourse and running of people together upon some occasion, not to stir at all but sit still, or if thou art not able to contain and rule thyself, to rise up and go thy ways. For surely gain thou shalt no good at all by intermeddling with such busy and troublesome persons; but contrariwise, much fruit mayst thou reap by turning away such curiosity, in repressing the same and constraining it by use and custom to obey reason.

Having made this good entrance and beginning, to proceed now unto farther and stronger exercise, it were very good, whensoever there is any play exhibited upon the stage in a frequent theatre, where there is assembled a great audience to hear and see some worthy matter for to pass by it, and to put back thy friends who solicit thee to go thither with them, for to see either one dance excellent well, or to act a comedy; nor so much as to turn back when thou hearest some great shout and outcry, either from out of the race or the grand-cirque, where the horse-running is held for the prize. For like as Socrates gave counsel to forbear those meats which provoke men to eat when they are not hungry, and those drinks which incite folk to drink when they have no thirst; even so, we ought to avoid and beware how we either see or hear anything whatsoever, which may either draw or hold us thereto, when there is no need at all thereof. The noble Prince Cyrus would not so much as see fair Lady Panthea, and when Araspes, one of his courtiers and minions, made report unto him that she was a woman of incomparable beauty, and therefore worthy to be looked on: Nay, rather (quoth he) for that cause I ought to

forbear the sight of her; for if by your persuasion I should yield to go and see her, it may peradventure fall out so that she herself might tempt and induce me again to repair unto her; even then haply when I shall not have such leisure, yea, and sit by her and keep her company, neglecting in the meantime the weighty affairs of the state. In like manner Alexander the Great would not come within the sight of King Darius his wife, notwithstanding that she was reported unto him for to be a most gallant and beautiful lady: Her mother, an ancient dame and elderly matron, he did not stick to visit, but the young gentlewoman her daughter (fresh, fair and young) he could not be brought so much as once to see. As for us, we can cast a wanton eye secretly into the coaches and horse-litters of wives and women as they ride, we can look out of our windows, and hang with our bodies half forth, to take the full view of them as they pass by: and all this while we think that we commit no fault, suffering our curious eye and wandering mind to slide and run to everything.

Moreover, it is meet and expedient for the exercise of justice, otherwhiles to omit that which well and justly might be done; to the end that by that means a man may acquaint himself to keep far off from doing or taking anything unjustly. Like as it maketh much for temperance and chastity, to abstain otherwhiles from the use of a man's own wife, that thereby he might be never moved to lust after the wife of his neighbour; taking this course likewise against curiosity, strive and endeavour sometimes to make semblance as though thou didst neither hear nor see those things that properly concern thyself: And if a man come and bring thee a tale of matters concerning thine own household, let it pass and put it over, yea, and those words which seem to have been spoken as touching thine own person, cast them behind and give no ear thereto. For default of this discretion, it was the inquisitive curiosity of King Œdipus which entangled and enwrapped him in exceeding great calamities and miseries: for when he would needs know who himself was, as if he had been not a Corinthian but a stranger, and would needs go therefore to the oracle for to be resolved, he met with Laius his own father by the way, whom he slew, and so espoused his own mother, by whose means he came to be King of Thebes: and even then, when he seemed to be a most happy man, he could not so stay, but proceeded further to inquire concerning himself, notwithstanding his wife did what she possibly could to dissuade him from it; but the more earnest she was with him

that way, the more instant was he with an old man who was privy to all, using all means to enforce him for to bewray that secret: at length, when the thing itself was so pregnant that it brought him into farther suspicion, and withal when the said old man cried out in this manner:

> Alas, how am I at the point perforce
> To utter that which will cause remorse?

the king, surprised still with his humour of curiosity, notwithstanding he was vexed at the very heart, answered:

> And I likewise for my part am as near
> To hear as much, but yet I must it hear.

So bitter-sweet is that itching-smart humour of curiosity, like unto an ulcer or sore, which the more it is rubbed and scratched, the more it bleedeth and bloodieth itself. Howbeit he that is delivered from this disease, and besides of nature mild and gentle, so long as he is ignorant and knoweth not any evil accident, may thus say:

> O blessed saint, when evils are past and gone,
> How sage and wise art thou, oblivion.

And therefore we must by little and little accustom ourselves to this, that when there be any letters brought unto us, we do not open them presently and in great haste, as many do, who if their hands be not quick enough to do the feat, set their teeth to, and gnaw in sunder the threads that sewed them up fast. Also, if there be a messenger coming toward us from a place with any tidings, that we run not to meet him, nor so much as once rise and stir for the matter; and if a friend come unto thee saying, I have some news to tell you of: Yea, marry (must you say again), but I had rather that you brought me something indeed that were profitable, fruitful and commodious. I remember upon a time when I declaimed and read a lecture at Rome, that orator Rustius, whom afterwards Domitian put to death for envy that he bare to his glory, happened to be there to hear me: Now in the midst of my lecture there came into the place a soldier with letters from the emperor, which he delivered to Rustius aforesaid, whereupon there was great silence in the school, and I myself made some pause, whiles he might read the letter, but he would not read it then, nor so much as break it open before I had made an end of my discourse, and dismissed the auditory: for which all the company there present highly praised and admired the gravity of the man.

Now if one do feed and nourish all that he can (be it but in lawful and allowable things) this vein and humour of curiosity, so as thereby it becometh in the end mighty and violent, it will not be an easy matter to restrain and hold it in when it shall break out and run on end to such things as be unlawful and forbidden, by reason that it is so used already to intermeddle and be doing. But such men as these break open and unseal letters (as I said), intrude themselves into the secret counsels of their friends; they will needs discover and see those sacred mysteries which it is not lawful for to see; in place whereunto there is no lawful access they love to be walking; inquire they do into the secret deeds and words of kings and princes; and notwithstanding there be nothing in the world that causeth tyrants, who must of necessity know all, so odious as this kind of people, who be called their ears (promoters, I mean, and spies), who hear all and bring all unto their ears. The first that ever had about him these *otacoustes* (as a man would say, princes' ears) was Darius the younger; a prince distrusting himself, suspecting also and fearing all men. As for those which were called *prosagogidæ*, that is to say, courries, spies and informers, the Dionysii, tyrants of Sicily, intermingled such among the Syracusans: whereupon, when the state was altered, those were the first that the Syracusans apprehended and massacred. Also those whom we call sycophants are of the confraternity, house and lineage of these curious persons, save only this difference there is, that sycophants inquire what evil any man hath either designed or committed; whereas our polypragmons hearken after and discover the very calamities and misadventures of their neighbours, which happen even against their will and purpose: and when they have so done, set them abroad to the view of the whole world.

Furthermore, it is said that the name *aliterius* came up first by occasion of this over-much meddling, called curiosity. For when there was (by all likelihood) a great famine at Athens, they that had corn kept it in and would not bring it abroad to the market, but privily and in the night ground the same into meal within their houses: Now these fellows, named *aliterii*, would go up and down closely hearkening where the quern or mill went, and thereupon took the said name. Semblably, as it is reported, the name of sycophants arose upon the like occasion: for when there was a law made, forbidding that any figs should be carried forth out of the land, such promoters as bewrayed the delinquents and gave information against those that con-

veyed figs away, were also thereupon called sycophants. To conclude, therefore, it were not unprofitable for these curious polypragmons (of whom we have discoursed all this while) to know thus much; That they might be ashamed in themselves to be noted for manners and profession to be like unto those who are accounted the most odious and hateful persons in the world.

OF THE TRANQUILLITY AND CONTENTMENT OF MIND

THE SUMMARY

[In this treatise a man may see the excellent discourses and most sound arguments of moral philosophy; the scope whereof is to make the scholars and students therein resolute, and to keep them from wavering and tottering to and fro; notwithstanding that either the sky were ready to fall upon their heads, or the earth to chink and open under their feet. True it is, that in this place Plutarch sheweth sufficiently what blindness there is in human wisdom, when the question is to pronounce and speak precisely, Wherein consisteth true repose and assured felicity? For to teach a man whom he calleth virtuous, to search for contentment and quiet rest in his own reason, were as much as to fetch light out of darkness and life out of death itself. And therefore (for this time) needless it is to treat long upon this point, considering that we mind not to dispute or declare how insufficient human learning and philosophy is, in comparison of true divinity and theology. For the present this may suffice, that seeing he was no better than a pagan who hath disputed of this theme, let us receive both this discourse and other such, wherein he endeavoureth to withdraw us from vice, and bring us unto virtue, as written and penned by a man, guided and conducted by a dim and dark light: in which notwithstanding appear certain sparks of the truth, which as they are not able to shew the way sufficiently, so they give them to understand, who be far remote from the true light, how miserable and wretched they are every way. Proved he had before, that flattery, choler, and curiosity are vices that overturn the soul upside down, and transport it so far off that it is not at home, nor mistress of herself: and after he had taught how a man might reclaim and reduce her again to her own house, he treateth now of those means whereby she may be kept quiet, peaceable, joyous and contented within. For the effecting hereof, at the very entry of this treatise, he proposeth one expedient mean to attain thereto, requiring that a man should fortify and defend his mind with reasons against the evils and dangers to come: then he confuteth the Epicureans, who for to set a man in peace, would make him blockish, senseless, and good for nothing: he answereth likewise to those who are of opinion that a man may find a certain kind of vacation and impassibility without all trouble and molestation: which done, he sheweth that reason well ruled and ordered is the foundation and ground of our tranquillity: and all in one and the same train, he teacheth how a man may be furnished and assisted with this reason. Having thus sufficiently in general terms discoursed of these premises, he doth particularise and decipher

the same point by point, giving fifteen several counsels, whereby a man may attain to this contentment and repose of spirit; the which we have distinguished particularly, and shewed in each one the substance of them, which I thought not good to insert in this place, because the summary should not exceed overmuch. Furthermore, the said counsels be enriched with notable examples, similitudes and sentences; which (no doubt) would have been much more forcible and effectual, if the principal indeed had been joined therewith, to wit, true piety and religion: which hath been clean omitted by the author, who indeed never knew what was the only true and perfect tranquillity of the soul. Howbeit, wonderful it is, how he should proceed so far as he doth, having no other help and means but his own self: which may so much the better serve our turns, considering that we have aids and guides far more excellent to bring us so far, as to make entry, and take assured possession of that sovereign good and felicity, whereof he here speaketh.]

PLUTARCH *to* PACCIUS *sendeth greeting*,—Overlate it was before I received your letter, wherein you requested me to write somewhat as touching the tranquillity of the soul, and withal of certain places in Plato's dialogue *Timæus*, which seem to require more exact exposition: but so it happened, that at the very same time, your friend and mine, Eros, had occasion to sail with speed to Rome, upon the receipt of certain letters from that right worshipful gentleman Fundanus, by virtue whereof he was to depart suddenly and to repair unto him with all expedition. By which occasion having not sufficient time and leisure to perform your request in such manner as I purposed, and yet unwilling that the man coming from me should be seen of you empty-handed; I have collected certain notes, chosen out of those commentaries which for mine own memory and private use I had compiled long before, concerning this argument, to wit, The Tranquillity and Contentment of Spirit: supposing that you also demand this present discourse, not for any pleasure that you take to read a treatise penned curiously, and affecting or hunting after fine phrases and exquisite words; but only in regard of some doctrine that may serve your turn and help you to the framing of your life as you ought; knowing withal full well (for the which I do congratulate and rejoice heartily on your behalf) that notwithstanding your inward acquaintance, friendship and favour with the best and principal persons of the city, and that for eloquence you come behind none that plead causes at the bar in open court, but are reputed a singular orator, yet for all that, you do not as that tragical Merops, suffer yourself foolishly and beyond the course of nature to be carried away as he was with the vainglory and applause of the

multitude, when they do admire and account you happy therefore; but still you keep in memory that which oftentime you have heard from us; That it is neither a rich patrician's shoe that cureth the gout in the feet; nor a costly and precious ring that healeth the whitflaw or felon in the fingers; nor yet a princely diadem that easeth the headache. For what use is there at all of goods and riches to deliver the soul from grief and sorrow, or to lead a life in rest and repose, without cares and troubles? What good is there of great honours, promotions, and credit in court? unless they that have them know how to use the same well and honestly; and likewise if they be without them, can skill how to find no miss of them, but be always accompanied with contentment; never coveting that which is not? And what is this else but reason accustomed and exercised beforehand, quickly to restrain and eftsoons to reprehend the passionate and unreasonable part of the soul, which is given oftentimes to break out of her bounds: and not to suffer her to range and vague at her pleasure, and to be transported by the objects presented unto her?

Like as therefore Xenophon giveth us good counsel: Always to remember the gods, and most of all to worship and honour them when we are in prosperity, to the end that whensoever we stand in need, we may more boldly invocate and call upon them, with full assurance that they will supply our necessities, being thus beforehand made propitious and gracious unto us; even so, wise men and such as are of good conceit, ought always to be furnished and well provided of reasons sufficient to serve their turn for to encounter their passions before they arise, to the end that being once laid up in store, they may do most good when time serveth. For as curst and angry mastiffs by nature, which at every noise that they hear keep an eager baying and barking as if they were affrighted, become quiet and appeased by one only voice which is familiar unto them, and wherewith they have been acquainted; so it is no small pain and trouble to still and compose the passions of the mind (skittish as they be and grown wild) unless a man have ready at hand proper and familiar reasons to repress the same so soon as ever they begin to stir and grow out of order.

Now as touching those who affirm that if a man would live in tranquillity and rest, he ought not to meddle nor deal in many affairs, either in public or private: First and foremost thus I say, that they would make us pay dear for tranquillity of mind, when they would have us buy it with idleness and doing

nothing; which were as much as if they advised each one to do as Electra did to her sick brother Orestes, when she said unto him:

> Lie still, poor wretch, and keep thy bed,
> Stir not from thence, and have no dread.

But surely as this were untoward physic for the body, to prescribe for the allaying of pain a medicine that would benumb and stupefy the senses; so verily he were no better physician for the soul, who to deliver her from trouble and grief, ordained that she should be made idle, slugglish, soft and tender, which, in one word, is as much as to forget all duty and to betray friends, kinsfolk and country. Moreover, a false position it is: That they enjoy tranquillity of life who intermeddle not in much business: for if that were true, women should live in more repose and quietness of mind than men, forasmuch as they keep home and sit still within doors for the most part, and seldom go abroad: but now, although it cannot be denied but that as the poet Hesiodus saith:

> Cold Boreas, a wind that blows
> From northern pole full oft,
> Doth never pierce the tender skin
> Of damsel smooth and soft,

yet many heart-griefs, troubles, perturbations, discontentments and cares arising upon jealousy, superstition, pride, ambition, foolish and vain opinions (which are so many as hardly a man is able to number them) find way and entrance even to the secret chambers and cabinets of our fine and dainty dames: And Laertes, who lived apart for the space of twenty years in the country,

> With one old woman and no more
> Who meat and drink set him before,

far from his native country, his own home, from court and kingdom; yet nevertheless he had always dwelling with him sadness of heart, accompanied with languishing, idleness and heavy silence. And more than that, this non-employment in affairs is that which many times hath cast some men into a dumpish melancholy and heaviness of spirit, like to him of whom Homer thus writeth:

> Here sat Achilles, swift of foot, by line descended right
> From Jupiter, though son he were of Peleus worthy knight,
> And stirr'd not from his fleet in road, but in an angry fit
> Would neither fight in open field, nor yet in counsel sit:
> Thus idle he abode so long until his heart within
> Consum'd, and nothing wish'd he more than battle to begin.

Whereupon, being in a passionate humour, and thinking it a great indignity thus to wear away and do nothing, he breaketh forth himself afterwards into this speech:

> But here sit I close to my ships, from action more and less
> An idle lusk to load the earth, I cannot but confess.

Insomuch as Epicurus himself, that great patron and maintainer of pleasure, would not advise nor thinketh meet that those who by nature are of an ambitious and aspiring mind, or desirous of glory, should take their ease and sit still, but by the guidance and direction of their natural inclination, to manage the weighty affairs of state and govern the commonweal: saying, that men born for action would be more troubled and discontented in mind with doing nothing, namely, when they see how they miss and fail of that which so greatly they desired. Howbeit I must note the absurd folly of the man and his want of judgment, in that he seemeth to call and exhort unto the rule of weal-public not those who are able and sufficient, but such only as cannot away with a private life and sitting still: neither ought we to measure and determine either the tranquillity or trouble of the spirit by the paucity or multitude of affairs, but rather by their honesty or dishonesty: for as we have already said, no less discontentment and trouble groweth to the mind by neglecting and omitting things honest, than by affecting and committing things dishonest. As for those who have determinately set by one special kind of life as void of all grief and trouble, to wit, some making choice to live as husbandmen in tillage of the ground; others to lead a single and unmarried life, and some again have esteemed a king's life to be it: to such Menander answereth prettily in these verses:

> I thought one while that rich and moneyed men,
> O Phanias, who were not hard bestead
> To pay for use in every hundred ten,
> Do neither groan nor sigh all night in bed:
> Nor as they turn and toss from top to toe
> Eftsoons, woe is me, alas, what shall I do?
> Breathe out from heart full pensive and opprest,
> But sweetly take repose and sleep in rest.

And coming more nearly unto the point, when he perceived that rich men were as restless and as much disquieted as the poor, he concludeth thus:

> But now, I wot, that life and pensive pain
> Are near of kin and cousin-germans twain.
> Who live in wealth, I see, feel grief of heart,
> And men in honour, of sorrows have their part
> No less than those whose want and penury
> Doth age with them and keep them company.

And the case is all one as with those that be either timorous or stomach-sick at sea, when they be under sail: for supposing that they shall be better at ease, they go out of a bark into a brigandine, and out of it into a galley: but they find no good thereby, for that they carry about them still choler and a false heart, which are the cause of this their distemperature; even so, eftsoons to change from one course of life unto another, is not the means to deliver the mind from troubles and perturbations, which hinder the repose and quietness thereof. And what be these troubles? even want of experience in affairs; inconsiderate rashness and default of discretion; insufficiency and want of knowledge how to use and accommodate things aright to the present occasions. These be they that molest and vex as well the rich as the poor; these torment and hurt single persons no less than married folk. In regard hereof, some having bidden the court and civil affairs farewell, yet soon after again could not away with a private and quiet life. And for no other cause but this, many make all the means they can to be advanced to high places, and to insinuate themselves into princes' courts; and when they have attained thereto, anon repent them and mislike of that course: But true it is the poet Ion saith:

> He that lieth sick is hard to please,
> He wants advice that should him ease.

For his wife is a trouble unto him; the physician he findeth fault with, and the bed is not to his mind; besides:

> A friend comes to visit, he welcomes him nought,
> And when he departs, unkind he is thought.

But afterwards, as the disease beginneth to break away or decline, and the former temperature of the body to return, health cometh again, which maketh everything pleasant and agreeable; insomuch as he who the day before was ready upon a peevishness of stomach to cast up dainty eggs, fine amydum and marchpain, and the fairest cooked manchet that is, will be content the morrow after, yea, and glad with all his heart to feed savourly and with a good stomach of downright household bread, of some olives or cresses.

Such a contentment and alteration worketh judgment of reason in every kind and course of life. It is reported that King Alexander the Great, hearing Anaxarchus the philosopher discoursing and maintaining this position: That there were worlds innumerable: fell a-weeping: and when his friends and

familiars about him asked what he ailed. Have I not (quoth he) good cause to weep, that being as there are an infinite number of worlds, I am not yet the lord of one? Whereas Crates, having no more than a wallet at his neck and a poor threadbare cloak upon his back, spent his whole life in mirth and joy, laughing always full merrily as if it had been always a festival holiday. As for Agamemnon, he complained in these words, and thought it an intolerable burden to be a king and commander of so great a people:

> Wot well you see Atreus his son,
> King Agamemnon hight:
> Whom Jupiter clogs more with care
> Than any mortal wight.

Contrariwise Diogenes, when he was to be bought and sold among other slaves in open market, scoffed at the crier who made sale; and lying along on the ground, would not so much as rise when he was bidden to stand up, but cavilled with him after a mocking and jesting manner, What (quoth he), and if you sold a fish would you bid it rise up? Likewise Socrates discoursed familiarly with his fellows and followers as touching philosophy, even when he was in prison. Whereas Phaëthon, notwithstanding he was mounted up into heaven, wept for anger and despight that no man would give him the rule and regiment of the chariot-steeds belonging to the sun his father. And as a shoe is wrested and turned according to the fashion of a crooked or splay-foot, but never doth the foot writhe to the form of a shoe; even so it is for all the world with the dispositions of men's minds; they frame their lives and make them like thereto. For it is not use and custom that causeth the best life to be pleasant also unto them that have made choice thereof, as some one haply is of opinion; but wisdom rather and discretion maketh that life which is best to be also sweetest and most pleasant. Since that therefore the source and fountain of all tranquillity and contentment of spirit is in ourselves, let us cleanse and purify the same spring as clean as possibly we can, that all outward and casual occurrences whatsoever may be made familiar and agreeable unto us, knowing once how to use them well.

> If things go cross, we ought not, iwis,
> To fret; for why? such choler will not boot:
> But he that knows when ought is done amiss,
> To set all straight, shall 'chieve full well, I wot.

Plato therefore compared our life to a game at tables; wherein

the player is to wish for the luckiest cast of the dice, but whatsoever his chance is, he must be sure to play it well, and make the best of it: Now of these two points, the former, to wit, a good throw, is not in our power and choice; but the other resteth in us, namely, whatsoever our lot is, to take in good worth and to dispose everything in that place where it may profit most if it fortuned well: and contrariwise, if it fell out cross, where it may do least harm. This (I say) is our part and duty to perform, if we be as wise as we should be. As for brain-sick fools, and such as know not how to carry themselves in this life (like unto those that have crazy and diseased bodies, who neither can abide burning heat nor chilling cold), as in prosperity they spread and set up their sails too high, so in adversity they strike them as low. Troubled they are mightily with both extremities; or to speak more truly, with themselves, as much in the one as the other, and no less in that state which yieldeth those things that we call and repute goods. Theodorus, that infamous philosopher who for his profane opinion was surnamed Atheos, that is to say, *the atheist*, was wont to say: That he delivered his speeches with the right hand to his auditors and scholars, but they took the same with their left; even so ignorant and untaught persons many times when fortune presenteth herself unto them on the right hand, receive her awkly, turning to the left side undecently, and by that means commit many untoward and lewd parts. But those that be wise do far better: for as thyme yieldeth unto bees the quickest and driest honey, even so they out of the most unfortunate accidents that be, can skill oftentimes to get somewhat which is agreeable and commodious unto themselves.

This is then the first and principal point wherein a man ought to be trained and exercised, upon this must he study and meditate. And like as that fellow, when he flung a stone at a curst bitch, missed her, and chanced to hit his step-mother, saying withal: It makes no matter; for it hath not lighted amiss; even so we may turn all our fortune to our own purpose, and make the best use of it, in case things fall out otherwise than we would or meant. Diogenes his hap was to be banished and driven out of his own country; yet this exile of his proved not ill to him; for by that means and thereupon he began to study and profess philosophy. Zeno, the Cittiæan, had but one frigate or fly-boat left him, and hearing news that both it and all therein was cast away, drowned and perished in the midst of the sea: O Fortune (quoth he), thou hast done well to drive

us again to put on our poor and simple scholar's habit, and to send us to our gallery and school of philosophy.

What should hinder us, then, but that we may follow the examples of these men. Art thou deprived and put out of some public office or magistracy which thou didst exercise? Go and live in the country; there follow thine own business, and ply thy private affairs. Hast thou made suit and great means to be entertained in the court, and to wind into special favour with some prince and potentate, and after all thy travail suffered repulse? Well, thou shalt live privately at home, without danger, without trouble. Again, Art thou entered into action, and dost thou manage state affairs, wherein thou hast cares enough, and no time to breathe thyself?

> The wholesome waters and hot bains
> Do not so much allay our pains:
> And if our limbs be dull or sick,
> Refresh the same and make them quick:
> As when a man himself doth see
> Advanc'd to honour and high degree,
> His glory, care and pain doth ease,
> No travail then will him displease;

as Pindarus saith very well: Art thou in some disgrace, and cast out of favour with reproach, by reason of some slanderous calumniation or envy? Thou hast a gale of forewind at the poop, which will soon bring thee directly to the Muses and to the academy; that is to say, to follow thy book and study philosophy: for this was Plato's help when he was in disfavour with Denys the Tyrant. And therefore one means this is (of no small importance) to work contentment in a man's mind; namely, to look back unto the state of famous and renowned persons, and to see whether they (haply) have not suffered the like at any time; as for example: Art thou discontented with thy childless estate, for that thy wife hath brought thee no children? Do but mark the kings of Rome, how there was not one of them that left the crown unto his son. Is it poverty that pincheth thee, so as thou art not able to endure it? Tell me which of all the Bœotians wouldest thou chuse to resemble sooner than Epaminondas? or what Roman wouldest thou be like unto rather than Fabricius? But say thy wife hath played false by thee, and made thee wear horns? Didst thou never read that epigram of King Agis at Delphos?

> Τγρâς καὶ τραφερâς[1] βασιλεὺς Ἄγις μ' ἀνέθηκεν
> Agis, of sea and land a crowned king,
> Gave me sometime a sacred offering.

[1] Not τρυφερâς, as it is commonly printed, and according to which

And yet as mighty a prince as he was, you have heard (I am sure) that Alcibiades lay with his wife Tunæa, and she would not bash to call the son that she had by him in adultery Alcibiades, especially amongst her women and waiting-maidens, whispering and speaking as much softly unto them: But what of all that? This crooked cross was no bar unto King Agis, but that he proved the greatest and most renowned personage of all the Greeks in his time. No more was it any hindrance to Stilpo, but that he lived all the days of his life most merrily, and no philosopher like to him in those days, notwithstanding he had a daughter that played the harlot: and when Metrocles the cynic reproached him therewith; Is this (quoth he) my fault or hers? To which when Metrocles answered again: The fault is indeed hers, but the infortunity and mishap is yours: What now (replied Stilpo again), how can that be? Are not (I pray you) all faults rightly named slips or falls? Yes, truly, said the other: And are not falls (quoth Stilpo) mischances or misfortunes? Metrocles could not deny it: Why then (inferred Stilpo at last), what are mischances or misfortunes other than infortunities and mishaps to them whose mischances they are? By this mild kind of sorites and philosophical reasoning thus from point to point, he shewed that the reproachful language of this cynical Metrocles was nothing else but a vain and foolish baying and barking of a cur-dog.

But on the contrary side, the most part of men are provoked and troubled not only for the vices of their friends, familiars, and kinsfolk, but also of their very enemies. For reproachful taunts, anger, envy, malice and spightful jealousies are the mischiefs and plagues (I must needs say) of such especially that have them; howbeit they molest and vex those also that are witless and without discretion, no otherwise than the hasty and choleric fits of our neighbours, the peevish and froward dispositions of our familiar acquaintance, and some shrewd demeanours of our servants in that they go about: with which methinks you also troubling and disquieting yourself as much as with anything else, like unto those physicians of whom Sophocles thus writeth:

> Who bitter choler cleanse and scour
> With drugs as bitter and as sour,

do unseemly and not iwis for the credit of your person, thus to

Budæus hath translated it, and made no sense at all in Latin. But in Homer the same manner of phrase is used, *Iliad*, ξ. οἵ μ' οἵσουσιν ἐπὶ ῥυφερήν τε καὶ ὑγρήν, *i.e.*, over land and sea.

chafe and fret at their passions and imperfections beyond all reason, and shew yourself as passionate as they. For surely the affairs and negotiations wherewith you are put in trust, and which be managed by your direction, are not executed ordinarily by the ministry of such persons whose dealings be plain, simple and direct, as instruments most meet and fit for such a purpose; but for the most part by crooked, rough and crabbed pieces. To reform and amend these enormities, I would not have you think that it is either your work and duty, or an enterprise otherwise easily performed. But if you making use of these, being such by nature as the chirurgeons do of tooth-drawing pincers and those instruments wherewith they do bring the edges of a wound together, will shew yourself mild, moderate, and tractable in every respect, according as the present occasion will give leave; surely you shall not receive so much discontentment and displeasure at the untoward and unhappy dealings of others, as joy in the conscience of your own good disposition, as making this account, that such ministers of yours do but their kind, like as dogs when they bark: But if you feed and cherish this pusillanimity and weakness of yours, you shall be sure to heap up many troubles and follies of other men ere you be aware, which will be ready to fall and run as into some low ground and hollow trench, unto that weakness of yours. For what should I say, that some philosophers reprove the pity and commiseration which we have for them that are in distress and misery, acknowledging that it is a good and charitable deed to help and succour such as be in calamity, but not commending that condolence and fellow-feeling with our neighbours, as if we yielded with them unto fortune? And more than so, the same philosophers will not permit and give us leave, in case we be subject to some vice and ill disposed, for to be seen and known for to grieve and sorrow therefore: but rather to correct and amend what is amiss, without any shew at all of sad cheer and heaviness; which being so, consider then how little reason and small cause we have, nay, how absurd it were, that we should suffer ourselves to be troubled, vexed and angry, in case all those who commerce and converse with us deal not so well and kindly as they should?

But above all things, my good friend Paccius, let us see to this, that our self-love deceive and seduce us not; let us beware (I say) that we do not so much shew an hatred and detestation of wickedness and sin in general; as bewray some private and particular regard of our own, in that we seem so to abhor and

dread the naughtiness of those that have to do with us. For to be exceeding much moved and beyond all measure affectionate at some time to such and such affairs; to covet (I say) and pursue the same over-hotly, and otherwise than is meet and beseeming; or contrariwise, to loath, despise, and abhor the same, must needs breed discontentments, suspicions, and offences in those persons by whom we seem either to have been prevented and disappointed of some things, or to have run and fallen too soon upon other: But he that is used to carry himself cheerfully and with moderation in his affairs (fall out as they will), and can frame to their events, he will soon learn to negotiate and converse with any man in all dexterity and gentle behaviour.

Well, then, let us set in hand again to discourse of those matters which we have intermitted for a while: for like as in a fever all things that we taste seem at the first bitter and unsavoury; but when we see others take without any shew and signification of dislike the same which we spit out, then we blame no more either meats or drinks, but lay the fault upon our disease; even so, when we perceive that other men have entered upon and gone through the same affairs with great alacrity, and without any pain at all, whereof we complained and made much ado; let us for shame cease to find fault and be offended so much at the things. And therefore if at any time there shall befall unto us some adverse and crooked accident against our wills, it will be very good for the working of our contentment in mind, not to pass over but to regard such things as at other times have happened to our minds and as we could wish them; but to confer them together, and by a good medley of them both to darken and dor the worst with laying the better to. But now, whereas we are wont when our eyes be dazzled and offended with beholding that which is too bright and glittering, to refresh and comfort our sight again with looking upon pleasant colours of flowers and green grass; herein contrariwise we direct our minds and cogitations upon heavy and dolorous objects, and violently force our thoughts to be amused upon the remembrance of calamities and adverse fortunes, plucking them perforce as it were from the consideration of better. And here, in this place, methinks I may very fitly apply that sentence to our present purpose, which was said to a busy and curious person:

> Ah, spiteful mind and most envious heart,
> Why others' faults dost thou so quickly spy
> With eagle's sight, but in thine own thou art
> Stark blind or else dost wink with owlet's eye?

Even so, good sir, how is it that you regard and advise so wistly your own misery and calamity, making it always apparent and fresh in remembrance, but upon your present prosperity you set not mind? And like as ventoses, cupping glasses or boxes draw the most corrupt humours to them out of the flesh; even so you gather against yourself the worst things you have, being no better than the merchant of Chios, who when he sold to others a great quantity of the best wine, sought up and down tasting every vessel until he met with that for his own dinner, which began to sour and was little better than stark naught. This man had a servant who ran away, and being demanded what his master had done unto him, for which he should shew him a pair of heels, Because (quoth he) when he had plenty of that which was good, he would needs seek for naught.

And most men verily are of the same nature, who passing by good and desirable things, which be (as a man would say) the pleasant and potable liquors that they have, betake themselves to those that be harsh, bad and unsavoury. But Aristippus was of another humour; for like a wise man and one that knew his own good, he was always disposed to make the best of every occurrence, raising and lifting up himself to that end of the balance which mounted aloft, and not to that which went downward. It fortuned one day that he lost a fair manor or lordship of his own, and when one of his friends above the rest made most semblance to lament with him, and to be angry with fortune in his behalf; Hear you (quoth he), know you not that yourself have but one little farm in the whole world, and that I have yet three houses more left, with good lands lying to them? Yes, marry do I (quoth the other): Why then (quoth Aristippus again), wherefore do not we rather pity your case, and condole with you? For it is mere madness to grieve and sorrow for those things that are lost and gone, and not to rejoice for that which is saved. And like as little children, if a man chance to take from them but one of their gauds, among many other toys that they play withal, throw away the rest for very curst-heart, and then fall a-puling, weeping and crying out aright; semblably, as much folly and childishness it were, if when fortune thwarteth us in one thing, we be so far out of the way and disquieted therewith, that with our plaints and moans we make all her other favours unprofitable unto us. But will some one say, What is it that we have? Nay, What is it that we have not? might he rather say: One man is in honour, another hath a fair

and goodly house; one hath a wife to his mind, and another a trusty friend.

Antipater of Tarsus, the philosopher, when he drew toward his end and the hour of his death, in recounting and reckoning up all the good and happy days that ever he saw in his lifetime, left not out of this roll so much as the *bon-voyage* that he had when he sailed from Cilicia to Athens. And yet we must not forget nor omit those blessings and comforts of this life which we enjoy in common with many more, but to make some reckoning and account of them: and namely to joy in this, that we live; that we have our health; that we behold the light of the sun; that we have neither war abroad nor civil sedition and dissension at home; but that the land yieldeth itself arable and to be tilled, and the sea navigable to every one that will, without fear of danger; that it is lawful for us to speak and keep silence at our pleasure; that we have liberty to negotiate and deal in affairs, or to rest and be at our repose. And verily the enjoying of these good things present will breed the greater contentment in our spirit, if we would but imagine within ourselves that they were absent; namely, by calling to mind eftsoons what a miss and desire those persons have of health, who be sick and diseased. How they wish for peace, who are afflicted with wars. How acceptable it is either to a stranger or a mean person and unknown, for to be advanced unto honour, or to be friended in some famous and puissant city. And contrariwise, what a great grief it is to forego these things when a man once hath them. And surely a thing cannot be great or precious when we have lost it, and the same of no valour and account all the while we have and enjoy it: for the not being thereof, addeth no price and worth thereto.

Neither ought we to hold these things right great and excellent, whiles we stand always in fear and trembling to think that we shall be deprived and bereft of them, as if they were some worthy things: and yet all the time that they be sure and safe in our possession, neglect and little regard them as if they were common and of no importance. But we ought to make use of them whiles they be ours, and that with joy, in this respect especially, that the loss of them, if it shall so fall out, we may bear more meekly and with greater patience. Howbeit, most men are of this opinion (as Arcesilaus was wont to say), that they ought to follow diligently with their eye and cogitation the poems, pictures and statues of others, and come close unto them for to behold and peruse exactly each of them; yea, and consider

every part and point therein from one end to the other: whiles in the meantime they neglect and let alone their own lives and manners; notwithstanding there be many unpleasant sights to be spied and observed therein: looking evermore without, and admiring the advancements, welfare and fortunes of others: much like as adulterers who have an eye after their neighbours' wives, but loath and set naught by their own.

And verily this one point also is of great consequence for the settling of a man's mind in sure repose; namely, to consider principally himself, his own estate and condition; or at leastwise (if he do not so) yet to look back unto those that be his inferiors and under him; and not as the most sort do, who love always to look forward and to compare themselves with their betters and superiors. As, for example, slaves that are bound in prison and lie in irons, repute them happy who are abroad at liberty; such as be abroad and at liberty, think their state blessed who be manumised and made free; being once affranchised, they account themselves to be in very good case if they were citizens; and being citizens they esteem rich men most happy; the rich imagine it a gay matter to be lords and princes; lords and princes have a longing desire to be kings and monarchs; kings and monarchs aspire still higher and would be gods; and yet they rest not so, unless they may have the power to flash lightnings and shoot thunderbolts as well as Jupiter. Thus, whiles they evermore come short of that which is above them and covet still after it, they enjoy no pleasure at all of those things that they have, nor be thankful therefore.

> The treasures great I care not for
> Of Gyges king so rich in gold;
> Such avarice I do abhor,
> Nor money will I touch untold.
> I never long'd with gods above,
> In their high works for to compare:
> Grand seignories I do not love,
> Far from mine eyes all such things are.

A Thracian he was that protested thus. But some other, that were a Chian, a Galatian or a Bithynian (I dare warrant you), not contenting himself with his part of honour, credit and authority in his own country and among his neighbours and fellow-citizens, would be ready to weep and expostulate the matter with tears, if he might not also wear the habit and ornaments of a patrician or senator of Rome. And say it were granted and allowed him to be a noble senator, he would not be quiet until he were a Roman lord prætor: Be he lord prætor, he

will aspire to a consulship; and when he is created consul, whine he will and cry if he were not nominated and pronounced the former of the twain, but elected in the second place. And I pray you what is all this? What doeth a man herein but gather pretended excuses of ingratitude to fortune, in punishing and chastising himself after this manner? But the man who is wise and of sound judgment, in case some one or two among so infinite thousands of us mortal men

> Whom sun from heaven so daily doth behold,
> Who feed on fruits of earth so manifold,

be either more honoured or richer than himself, will not therefore be cast down straightway, and sit mourning and lamenting for sorrow; but rather in the way as he goeth, and whensoever he cometh abroad, salute and bless with praise and thanksgiving that good fortune of his and blessed angel that guideth his life, for that his lot is to live far better, more at heart's ease, and in greater reputation than many millions of millions of other men. For true it is, that in the solemn games at Olympia, no champion may chuse his concurrents with whom he is to wrestle or enter into combat for a prize: but in this life, our state standeth so, and our affairs be in that manner composed, that every man hath means to match, yea, and excel many others, and so to bear himself aloft, that he be rather envied than envious; unless haply he be such an one as will presume to deal with Briareus or Hercules for the mastery.

Well, when thou shalt behold some great lord or honourable personage borne aloft in a litter upon men's shoulders, stand not wondering so much at him, but rather cast thine eyes down a little lower, and look upon the poor porters that carry him. Again, when thou shalt repute that great monarch Xerxes a right happy man, for that he made a bridge of ships over the Straits of Hellespont; consider withal those painful slaves, who under the very whip and for fear of scourging, digged through the mountain Athos, and made passage that way for an arm of the sea; as also those miserable wretches who had their ears cropt and their noses cut off, for that the foresaid bridge by a mighty tempest was injointed and broken; and therewith imagine with thyself what those silly souls might think, and how happy they would repute thy life and condition in comparison of their own.

Socrates upon a time when one of his familiar friends seemed to complain and say: What a costly place is this? How dear are things sold in this city? The wine of Chios will cost a

pound; purple is sold for three, and a pint of honey is held at five drachms: took him by the hand and led him to the meal-hall. Lo (quoth he), you may buy here half a *sextare* of good meal for an halfpenny. The market (God be thanked) is cheap: from thence he brought him into an oil-cellar, and where they sold olives: Here you shall have (quoth he) a measure called *chœnix* for two brazen dodkins (a good market, believe me). He took him then with him to the brokers' shops that sold clothes, where a man might buy a suit of apparel for ten drachms. You see (quoth he) that the pennyworths are reasonable, and things be bought and sold good cheap throughout the city; even so we, when we shall hear other men say; Our state is but mean, we are exceeding bare, and our condition is passing base: For why? We cannot come to be consuls, we shall never be rulers and governors of provinces, nor rise to the highest places of authority. We may very well answer in this wise; Nay marry, but our case is right good; we live gallantly, and lead a blessed and happy life: we beg not; we go not from door to door to crave folks' alms; we are no porters; we bear no burdens; neither like parasites and smell-feasts do we get our bread by flattery. But forasmuch as we are for the most part grown to this folly, that we are accustomed to live rather according to others than ourselves, and our nature is so far corrupted with a kind of jealous affectation and envy, that it joyeth not so much in her own proper goods, as grieveth at the welfare of another, I would advise you not only to regard those things that be resplendent, glorious and renowned in those whom you admire and esteem so happy; but also to set open and lift up the veil a little, and to draw (as it were) that glittering curtain of outward shew, appearance and opinion that men have of them which covereth all, and so to look in. Certes, you shall find that they have within them many matters of trouble, many grievances and discontentments.

That noble Pittacus, so famous for his valour and fortitude, and as much renowned also for wisdom and justice, feasted upon a time certain of his friends that were strangers: and his wife coming in at midst of the dinner, being angry at somewhat else, overthrew the table, and there lay all under foot. Now when his guests and friends were wondrously dismayed and abashed hereat, Pittacus made no more ado at the matter, but turning unto them: There is not one of us all (quoth he) but he hath his cross, and one thing or other to exercise his patience: and for mine own part, this is the only thing that checketh my

felicity: for were it not for this shrew my wife, I were the happiest man in the world: So that of me may these verses be well verified:

> This man who while he is in street
> Or public place is happy thought,
> No sooner sets in house his feet
> But woe is him: and not for nought.
> His wife him rules, and that's a spight,
> She chides, she fights, from morn to night.

Well, my masters, you have many occasions (I am sure) that vex you: as for myself I grieve at nothing. Many such secret sores there be that put them to anguish and pain who are rich and in high authority, yea, and trouble kings and princes themselves; howsoever the common people see no such matter; and why? their pomp and outward glory covereth and hideth all. For when we read thus in Homer:

> O happy king, Sir Agamemnon hight,
> The son of Atreus, that worthy knight
> Born in good hour, and lull'd in fortune's lap,
> Most puissant, rich, and thrall to no mishap:

this is a rehearsal surely of an outward beatitude only, in regard of his arms, horses and men of war about him: for the voices which are breathed out and uttered of his passions, do falsify that opinion of him, and bear witness of the contrary: as may appear by this testimony of himself in Homer:

> Great Jupiter, god Saturn's son,
> Hath plung'd me deep in woe begone.

Euripides also to the like effect:

> Your state, old sir, I happy deem,
> And his no less I do admire
> Who led his life, unknown, unseen,
> From danger far, from vain desire.

By these and such-like meditations, a man may by little and little spend and diminish that quarrelsome and complaining discontentment of the mind against fortune, in debasing and casting down his own condition with the wonderful admiration of his neighbour's state. But there is nothing that doth so much hurt unto our tranquillity of mind as this, when our affection and will to a thing is disproportioned unto our might and power; as if we set up greater sails than our vessel will bear, building our hopes and desires as castles in the air without a sound foundation, and promising ourselves more than reason is; for afterwards,

when by proof we see that we cannot reach thereto, and find that the success is not answerable to our conceit, we grumble by and by against fortune, and we blame our destiny; whereas we should accuse our own folly and rashness. For neither he that would seem to shoot an arrow out of a plough, or ride upon an ox back to hunt the hare, can say that he is unlucky; nor he that goeth about to catch the hart and hind with fisher's drag-nets, or with gins, snares and traps, may justly find fault with his fortune, and give out that some wicked angel doth cross him, or malignant spirit haunt him, if he fail and miss of his purpose: but surely such are to condemn their own foolishness and inconsiderate temerity, in attempting things impossible.

And what might be the cause of such errors and gross oversight? surely our fond and blind self-love. This is it that causeth men to affect ever to be foremost; this moveth them to strive and contend for the highest place; this maketh them opinionative in everything, aiming and reaching at all things unsatiably, and never rest contented. For it sufficeth them not to be both rich and learned; eloquent withal and mighty; good fellows at the table and pleasant companions; minions and favourites of kings and princes; rulers of cities and governors of provinces; unless they may be masters also of the swiftest and hottest hounds for running; the principal horses for service and stomach; quails and cocks of the best game for fight; If they fail in any of these, they be cast down, and their hearts are done. Denys, the elder of that name, not being contented and satisfied in mind that he was the most mighty and puissant tyrant in his time; but because he was not a better poet than Philoxenus; nor able to discourse and dispute so learnedly as Plato; in great choler and indignation he cast the one into a dungeon within the stone quarries, where malefactors, felons and slaves were put to punishment; and confined the other as a caitiff, and sent him away into the isle Ægine. Alexander the Great was not of that disposition, who when Brison, the famous runner, in the race contended with him for the best game in footmanship, and for the nonce, to please the king, seemed to faint and lag behind, and so to yield the honour of the course unto him; being advertised thereof, was mightily offended and displeased with him for it. Very wisely, therefore, and aptly to this purpose the poet Homer, when he had given this commendation of Achilles:

> Like unto him there is not one in field
> Of all the Greeks that serve with spear and shield,

he inferred presently upon it:

> In feats of arms; but for to speak and plead
> Others there be who can him teach and lead.

Megabyzus the Persian, a great lord, went up one day into the shop of Apelles, where he used to paint; and when he was about to speak (I wot not what) as touching painting-craft, Apelles, not enduring to hear him talk so foolishly, stayed him and stopped his mouth, saying prettily thus unto him: So long, sir, as you held your tongue, you were taken to be some great man, by reason of your chains, corquans, and brooches of gold; your purple robes also, which together with your silence commended your person: but now the very prentice boys here, who grind ochre and such-like colours, are ready to laugh at you, hearing you talk so foolishly, you know not what. And yet some there be who think that the Stoics do but mock and jest when they hear them hold this opinion: That the wise man (such as they imagine to themselves) is not only prudent, just and valiant, but ought also to be called an orator, a captain, and a poet, a rich and mighty man, yea and a very king; whiles they themselves will needs be invested in these titles, and if they be not, then they are displeased and miscontent by and by; what reason they have so to be let them answer. Sure I am that among the gods themselves, some have power one way, and some another; and thereupon took their sundry denominations accordingly, and rest contented therewith: as for example, one is surnamed Enyalius, *i.e.*, the god of war; another Mantous, *i.e.*, the president of prophecies; and a third Cerdous, which is as much to say, as the patron of those that gain by traffic. And hereupon it is that Jupiter in Homer, forbidding Venus to meddle in warlike and martial affairs, as nothing pertinent unto her, sendeth her to weddings and bride-chambers, and bids her attend them.

Moreover, some qualities and things there be that we seem to affect and wish; the which are in nature contrary, and will not concur and sort well together: as for example, the profession of eloquence and the study of arts mathematical require rest and quietness, neither have the students therein need to be employed in any affairs. Contrariwise, policy and managing of the state and weal public, the favours of princes and potentates, are not compassed without much ado; neither can a man be idle at any time, who either is employed in the service of his country, or attendant in the court. Much feeding upon flesh

and liberal drinking of wine, maketh (I must needs say) the body able and strong, but the mind feeble and weak. Likewise, the continual and excessive care both in getting and keeping goods, may well augment riches and increase our substance: but surely it is the contempt and despisement of worldly wealth that is a great help and means to learning and philosophy. And therefore we may well conclude that every man is not fit for everything: but herein each one must be ruled by the sage sentence of Pythius Apollo, and first learn, To know himself; then mark and observe to what one thing he is most framed and inclined; and thereto both apply and employ his wits, and not to offer violence to nature, and draw her perforce, as it were, against the hair, to this or that course of life which she liketh not.

> The horse serves best in chariot at the thill,
> The ox at plough, the ground to ear and till;
> Ships under sail the dolphins when they spy,
> Most swiftly then do swim their sides fast by:
> Who would in wood the wild boar chase and slay,
> Must bring with him the hardy hound away.

Now if there be one that shall be angry with himself and displeased that he is not at once both a savage lion of the forest, bold and venturous of his own strength, and withal a dainty fine puppy of Malta, cherished and fostered in the lap and bosom of some delicate dame and rich widow; commend me to him for a senseless fool of all fools, and to say a sooth, I hold him also as very an ass and doltish fop, who will needs be such an one as Empedocles, Plato and Democritus; namely, to write of the world, of the nature and true essence of all things therein, and withal to keep a rich old trot and sleep with her every night, as Euphorion did; or else like unto those who kept company with Alexander the Great in drinking and gaming (as one Medius did), and yet think it a great abuse and indignity (forsooth) if he may not be as much admired for his wealth as Ismenias, and esteemed no less for his virtue than Epaminondas. We see that the runners in a race be not discontented at all if they wear not the garlands and coronets of wrestlers, but rest pleased with their own rewards, and therein delight and rejoice. It is an old said saw, and a common proverb: Sparta is thy lot and province, look well to it, and adorn the same. For it is a saying also of wise Solon:

> And yet we will not change our boon
> With them, for all their wealth and gold:
> Goods pass from man to man full soon,
> Ours virtue is, a sure freehold.

Strato, the natural philosopher, when he heard that Menedemus, his concurrent, had many more scholars by far than he: What marvel is that (quoth he) if there be more that desire to be washed and bathed than are willing to be anointed and rubbed? Aristotle, writing to Antipater: It is not meet (quoth he) that Alexander alone should think highly of himself, in that he is able to command so many men; but they also have good cause to be as well conceited of themselves, who have the grace to believe of the gods as they ought. For surely they that thus can make the best use of their own estate, shall never be vexed, nor at their neighbour's welfare pine away for very envy. Which of us now doth require or think it fit that the vine-tree should bear figs, or the olive grapes? and yet we ourselves, if we may not have all at once, to wit, the superiority and pre-eminence among rich men, among eloquent orators and learned clerks, both at home and abroad, in the schools among philosophers, in the field among warriors; as well among flattering claw-backs as plain-spoken and tell-truth friends: to conclude unless we may go before all-pinching penny-fathers in frugality; yea, and surpass all spendthrifts in riot and prodigality; we are out of our little wits; we accuse ourselves daily like sycophants; we are unthankful; we repine and grumble as if we lived in penury and want. Over and besides, do we not see that nature herself doth teach us sufficiently in this point? For like as she hath provided for sundry kinds of brute and wild beasts, divers sorts of food: for all feed not upon flesh, all peck not upon seeds and grains of plants, neither do all live upon roots which they work from under the ground; even so she hath bestowed upon mankind many means to get their living, while some live by grazing and feeding of cattle, others by tillage, some be fowlers, others fishers: and therefore ought every man to chuse that course of life which sorteth best with his own nature, and wholly to apply and set his mind thereto; leaving unto others that which pertaineth to them, and not to reprove and convince Hesiodus when he thus speaketh, although not to the full and sufficiently to the point:

> The potter to potter doth bear envy,
> One carpenter to another hath a spightful eye.

For jealous we are not only of those who exercise the same art and follow that course of life which we do, but the rich also do envy the learned and eloquent; noble men the rich; advocates and lawyers, captious and litigious sophisters; yea, and (that

which more is) gentlemen free-born, and descended from noble and ancient houses, envy comedians when they have acted well and with a good grace upon the stage in great theatres; dancers also and jesters in the court, whom they see to be in favour and credit with kings and princes; and whiles they do admire these, and think them happy for their good speed and success in comparison of their own doings, they fret and grieve, and out of measure torment themselves.

Now, that every one of us hath within himself treasures laid up of contentment and discontentment, and certain tunes of good things and evil; not bestowed, as Homer said, upon the door-sill and entry of Jupiter's house; but placed in eacl. of our own minds, the divers passions whereunto we are subject do sufficiently prove and shew. For such as are foolish and unadvised, do neglect and let go the very good things that presently they have, and never care to enjoy them, so intentive and earnestly bent are their minds and spirits always to that which is coming, and future expectation: whereas wise men, on the contrary side, call to their fresh remembrance those things that are past, so as they seem to enjoy the same as if they were present, yea and to make that which is no more to be as beneficial unto them as if they were ready and at hand. For surely that which is present, yielding itself to be touched by us but the least moment of time that is, and immediately passing our senses, seemeth unto fools to be none of ours, nor any more to concern us. But like as the roper which is painted in the temple of Pluto, or description of hell, suffereth an ass behind him to gnaw and eat a rope as fast as he twisteth it off the spart-broom; even so the unthankful and senseless oblivion of many ready to catch and devour all good things as they pass by, yea, and to dissipate and cause to vanish away every honest and notable action, all virtuous deeds, duties, delectable recreations and pleasant pastimes, all good fellowship and mutual society, and all amiable conversation one with another, will not permit that the life be one and the same, linked (as it were) and chained by the copulation of things past and present; but dividing yesterday from to-day, and this day from the morrow, as if they were sundry parts of our life, bringeth in such a forgetfulness, as if things once past had never been.

As for those verily who in their disputations and philosophical discourses admit no augmentation of bodies, affirming that every substance continually fadeth and vanisheth, would make us believe in word, that each one of us every hour altereth from

himself, and no man is the same to-day that he was yesterday: but these for fault of memory not able to retain and keep those things that are done and past, no, nor to apprehend and eftsoons call them again to mind, but suffer everything to pass away and run as it were through a sieve, do not in word but in deed and effect make themselves void and empty every day more than other, depending only upon the morrow, as if those things which were done the year past, of late, and yesterday, nothing appertained unto them, nor ever were at all.

This is, therefore, one thing that hindereth and troubleth that equanimity and repose of spirit which we seek for: and yet there is another that doth it more; and that is this; Like as flies creeping upon the smooth places of glasses or mirrors, cannot hold their feet but must needs fall down, but contrariwise they take hold where they meet with any roughness, and stick fast to rugged flaws that they can find; even so these men, gliding and glancing over all delectable and pleasant occurrences, take hold of any adverse and heavy calamities, those they cleave unto and remember very well; or rather as (by report) there is about the city Olynthus a certain place, into which if any flies called *beetles* enter in once, they cannot get forth again, but after they have kept a-turning about, and fetching compasses round to no purpose a long time, they die in the end, whereupon it took the name of *Cantharolethron;* semblably, men after they fall to the reckoning up and commemoration of their harms and calamities past, are not willing to retire back, nor to breathe themselves and give over multiplying thereupon still. And yet contrariwise, they ought to do after the manner of painters, who when they paint a table do lay upon the ground, or by a course of dead and duskish colours, such as be fresh, gay and gallant, for to palliate and in some sort to hide the unpleasantness of the other, they ought (I say) to smother and keep down the heaviness of the heart occasioned by some cross mishaps, with those that have fallen out of their mind, for to obliterate and wipe them out of their mind quite, and to be freed clean from them it is not possible: and surely the harmony of this world is reciprocal and variable, compounded (as it were) of contraries, like as we do see in an harp or bow; neither is any earthly thing under the cope of heaven pure, simple and sincere without mixture. But as music doth consist of base and treble sounds; and grammar of letters, which be partly vocal and partly mute, to wit, vowels and consonants, and he is not to be counted a grammarian and musician who is offended and

displeased with either of those contrary elements of the art, but he that affecteth the one as well as the other, and knoweth how to use and mix both together with skill for to serve his purpose; even so, considering that in the occurrences of man's life there be so many contrarieties, and one weigheth against another in manner of counterpoise; for (according to Euripides):

> It cannot stand with our affairs,
> That good from bad should parted be:
> A medley then of mixed pairs
> Doth well, and serves in each degree.

It is not meet that we should let our hearts fall and be discouraged with the one sort whensoever it happeneth, but we ought, according to the rules of harmony in music, to stop the point always of the worst with strokes of better, and by overcasting misfortunes (as it were) with a veil and curtain of good haps, or by setting one to the other, to make a good composition and a pleasant accord in our life, fitting and sorting our own turns. For it is not as Menander said:

> Each man so soon as he is born,
> One spirit good or angel hath,
> Which him assists both even and morn,
> And guides his steps in every path;

but rather according to Empedocles: No sooner are we come into the world, but each one of us hath two angels, called *dæmons:* two destinies (I say) are allotted unto us, for to take the charge and government of our life, unto which he attributeth divers and sundry names:

> Here Clithonie was, a downward look that hath,
> Heliope eke, who turneth to the sun,
> And Deris, she that loves in blood to bath,
> Harmony smiles ever and anon,
> Calisto fair and Æschre foul among,
> Thoosa swift, Dinæa stout and strong,
> Nemertes, who is lovely white and pure,
> But Asaphie with fruit black and obscure.

Insomuch as our nativity receiving the seeds of each of all these passions blended and confused together, and by reason thereof the course of our life not being uniform, but full of disordered and unequal dispositions, a man of good and sound judgment ought to wish and desire at God's hand the better, to expect and look for the worse, and to make an use of them both, namely, by abridging and cutting off that which is excessive and too much: For not he only (as Epicurus was wont to say) shall come with most delight and pleasure to see the

morrow-sun, who made least account thereof on the even; but riches also, glory, authority and rule doth most rejoice their hearts who least feared the contrary: for the vehement and ardent desire that a man hath to any of these things, doth imprint likewise an exceeding fear of foregoing and losing the same, and thereby maketh the delight of enjoying them to be feeble and nothing firm and constant; even as the blaze and flame of the fire which is blown and driven to and fro with the wind. But the man who is so much assisted with reason, that he is able without fear and trembling to say unto fortune:

> ἠδὺ μοὶ ἄν τι φέρῃς, ὀλίγον δ' ἄχος ἦν ἀπολείπῃς.
> Welcome to me, if good thou bringest ought,
> And if thou fail, I will take little thought;

or thus:

> Well mayst thou take from me some joy of mind,
> But little grief thou shalt me leave behind:

hath this benefit by his confidence and resolution: that as he taketh most joy of his good fortunes when they are present, so he never feareth the loss of them, as if it were a calamity insupportable. And herein we may as well imitate as admire the disposition and affection of Anaxagoras, who when he heard the news of his son's death, I know full well (quoth he) when I begot him that die he must: and after his example, whensoever any infortunity happeneth, to be ready with these and such-like speeches: I know that riches were not permanent, but transitory and for a day: I never thought other, but that they who conferred these dignities upon me both might and could deprive me of them: I wist that I had a good wife and virtuous dame, but withal a woman and no more: I was not ignorant that my friend was a man, (that is to say) a living creature by nature mutable, as Plato used to say.

And verily, such preparations and dispositions of our affections as these, if peradventure there shall befall unto us anything against our intent and mind, but not contrary to our expectation, as they will never admit such passionate words as these (I never thought it would have fallen out so, I was in great hope of other matters, and little looked I for this), so they shall be able to rid us of all sudden pantings and leapings of the heart, of unquiet and disorderly beating of the pulses, and soon stay and settle the furious and troublesome motions of impatience. Carneades was wont in time of greatest prosperity to put men in mind of a change; for that the thing which happeneth con-

trary to our hope and expectation is that which altogether and wholly doth breed sorrow and grief.

The kingdom of the Macedonians was not an handful to the Roman empire and dominion; and yet King Perseus, when he had lost Macedonia, did not only himself lament his own fortune most piteously, but in the eyes also of the whole world he was reputed a most unfortunate and miserable man. But behold Paulus Æmelius, whose hap it was to vanquish the said Perseus, when he departed out of that province, and made over into the hands of another his whole army, with so great command both of land and sea, was crowned with a chaplet of flowers, and so did sacrifice unto the gods with joy and thanksgiving in the judgment of all men, worthily extolled and reputed as happy. For why? when he received first that high commission and mighty power withal, he knew full well that he was to give it over and resign it up when his time was expired; whereas Perseus, on the contrary side, lost that which he never made account to lose. Certes, even the poet Homer hath given us very well to understand how forcible that is which happeneth besides hope and unlooked for, when he bringeth in Ulysses upon his return, weeping for the death of his dog; but when he sate by his own wife, who shed tears plentifully, wept not at all; for that he had long before at his leisure against this coming home of his, prevented and brought into subjection (as it were), by the rule of reason, that passion which otherwise he knew well enough would have broken out; whereas, looking for nothing less than the death of his dog, he fell suddenly into it, as having had no time before to repress the same. In sum, of all those accidents which light upon us contrary to our will, some grieve and vex us by the course and instinct of nature; others (and those be the greater part) we are wont to be offended and discontented with, upon a corrupt opinion and foolish custom that we have taken: and therefore we should do very well, against such temptations as these, to be ready with that sentence of Menander:

> No harm nor loss thou dost sustain;
> But that thou list so for to fain.

And how (quoth he) can it concern thee?

> For if no flesh without it wound,
> Nor soul within, then all is sound.

As for example, the base parentage and birth of thy father; the adultery of thy wife; the loss or repulse of any honour, dignity

or pre-eminence: for what should let, notwithstanding all these crosses, but that thy body and mind both may be in right good plight and excellent estate? And against those accidents which seem naturally to grieve and trouble us, to wit, maladies, pains and travails; death of dear friends and toward children, we may oppose another saying of Euripides the poet:

> Alas, alas, and well-a-day:
> But why alas, and well away?
> Nought else to us hath yet been dealt,
> But that which daily men have felt.

For no remonstrance nor reason is so effectual to restrain and stay this passionate and sensual part of our mind, when it is ready to slip and be carried headlong away with our affections, as that which calleth to remembrance the common and natural necessity; by means whereof a man in regard of his body, being mixed and compounded, doth expose and offer this handle (as it were) and vantage whereby fortune is to take hold when she wrestleth against him; for otherwise, in the greatest and most principal things, he abideth fast and sure. King Demetrius having forced and won the city Megara, demanded of Stilpo, the wise philosopher, whether he had lost any goods in the sackage and pillage thereof? Sir (quoth he), I saw not so much as one man carrying anything of mine away; semblably, when fortune hath made what spoil she can, and taken from us all other things, yet somewhat there remaineth still within ourselves,

> Which Greeks, do what they can or may,
> Shall neither drive nor bear away.

In which regard we ought altogether so to depress, debase and throw down our human nature, as if it had nothing firm, stable and permanent, nothing above the reach and power of fortune: but contrariwise, knowing that it is the least and worst part of man, and the same frail, brittle, and subject to death, which maketh us to lie open unto fortune and her assaults; whereas in respect of the better part we are masters over her, and have her at command, when there being seated and founded most surely the best and greatest things that we have, to wit, sound and honest opinions, arts and sciences, good discourses tending to virtue, which be all of a substance incorruptible, and whereof we cannot be robbed: we (I say) knowing thus much, ought in the confidence of ourselves to carry a mind invincible and secure against whatsoever shall happen, and be able to say that to the face of fortune which Socrates, addressing his speech indeed covertly to the judges, seemed to speak

against his two accusers, Anytus and Melitus: Well may Anytus and Melitus bring me to my death, but hurt or harm me they shall never be able.

And even so fortune hath power to bring a disease or sickness upon a man, his goods she can take away, raise she may a slander of him to tyrant, prince or people, and bring him out of grace and favour; but him that is virtuous, honest, valiant and magnanimous, she cannot make wicked, dishonest, base-minded, malicious and envious: and in one word, she hath not power to take from him a good habitude, settled upon wisdom and discretion, which wheresoever it is always present, doth more good unto a man for to guide him how to live, than the pilot at sea for to direct a ship in her course; for surely the pilot, be he never so skilful, knoweth not how to still the rough and surging billows when he would, he cannot allay the violence of a tempest, or blustering wind, neither put into a safe harbour and haven, or gain a commodious bay to anchor in at all times and in every coast, would he never so fain, nor resolutely without fear and trembling when he is in a tempest, abide the danger and undergo all; thus far forth only his art serveth, so long as he is in no despair but that his skill may take place:

> To strike mainsail, and down the lee
> To let ship hull, until he see
> The foot of mast no more above
> The sea: while he doth not remove,
> But with one hand in other fast
> Quaketh and panteth all aghast.

But the disposition and staid mind of a prudent man, over and besides that it bringeth the body into a quiet and calm estate, by dissipating and dispatching for the most part the occasions and preparatives of diseases, and that by continent life, sober diet, moderate exercises, and travails in measure; if haply there chance some little beginning or indisposition to a passion, upon which the mind is ready to run itself, as a ship, upon some blind rock under the water, it can quickly turn about his nimble and light cross-sail yard, as Asclepiades was wont to say, and so avoid the danger.

But say there come upon us some great and extraordinary accident, such as neither we looked for, nor be able by all the power we have, either to overcome or endure; the haven is near at hand, we may swim safely thither out of the body (as it were), out of a vessel that leaketh and taketh water, and will no longer hold a passenger: as for foolish folk, it is the fear of

death, and not the love of life, that causeth them to cling and stick so close to the body, hanging and clasping thereunto no otherwise than Ulysses to the wild fig-tree, when he feared with great horror the gulf Charybdis roaring under him:

> Whereas the winds would not permit to stay,
> Nor suffer him to row or sail away:

displeased infinitely in the one, and dreading fearfully the other. But he that in some measure (be it never so little) knoweth the nature of the soul, and casteth this with himself: That by death there is a passage out of this life, either to a better state, or at leastwise not to a worse: certes, he is furnished with no mean wayfaring provision to bring him to the security of mind in this life, I mean the fearless contempt of death: for he that may (so long as virtue and the better part of the soul (which indeed is proper unto man) is predominant) live pleasantly; and when the contrary passions, which are enemies to nature, do prevail, depart resolutely and without fear, saying thus unto himself:

> God will me suffer to be gone
> When that I will myself, anon.

What can we imagine to happen unto a man of this resolution, that should encumber, trouble or terrify him? for whosoever he was that said: I have prevented thee (O Fortune), I have stopped up all thy avenues, I have intercepted and choked all the ways of access and entry; surely he fortified himself, not with bars and barricades, not with locks and keys, nor yet with mures and walls, but with philosophical and sage lessons, with sententious saws, and with discourses of reason, whereof all men that are willing be capable. Neither ought a man to discredit the truth of these and such-like things which are committed in writing, and give no belief unto them, but rather to admire, and with an affectionate ravishment of spirit embrace and imitate them; yea, and withal to make a trial and experiment of himself; first in smaller matters, proceeding afterwards to greater, until he reach unto the highest, and in no wise to shake off such meditations, nor to shift off and seek to avoid the exercise of the mind in this kind, and in so doing, he shall haply find no such difficulty as he thinketh. For as the effeminate delicacy and niceness of our mind, amused always and loving to be occupied in the most easy objects, and retiring eftsoons from the cogitation of those things that fall out cross, unto such as tend unto greatest pleasure, causeth it to be soft and tender, and imprinteth a certain daintiness not able to abide any

exercise; so if the same mind would by custom learn and exercise itself in apprehending the imagination of a malady, of pain, travel, and of banishment, and enforce itself by reason to withstand and strive against each of these accidents, it will be found and seen by experience, that such things which through an erroneous opinion were thought painful, grievous, hard and terrible, are for the most part but vain indeed, deceitful and contemptible: like as reason will shew the same if a man would consider them each one in particular. Howbeit, the most part mightily fear and have in horror that verse of Menander:

> No man alive can safely say,
> This case shall never me assay,

as not knowing how material it is to the exempting and freeing of a man from all grief and sorrow, to meditate beforehand, and to be able to look open-eyed full against fortune, and not to make those apprehensions and imaginations in himself soft and effeminate, as if he were fostered and nourished in the shadow, under many foolish hopes which ever yield to the contrary, and be not able to resist so much as any one.

But to come again unto Menander, we have to answer unto him in this manner: True it is indeed, there is no man living able to say: This or this shall never happen unto me; howbeit, thus much may a man that is alive say and affirm: So long as I live I will not do this, to wit, I will not lie; I will never be a cozener, nor circumvent any man; I will not defraud any one of his own; neither will I forelay and surprise any man by a wile. This lieth in our power to promise and perform, and this is no small matter, but a great means to procure tranquillity and contentment of mind. Whereas contrariwise, the remorse of conscience whenas a man is privy to himself, and must needs confess and say: These and these wicked parts I have committed, festereth in the soul like an ulcer and sore in the flesh, and leaveth behind it repentance in the soul, which fretteth, galleth, gnaweth, and setteth it a-bleeding fresh continually. For, whereas all other sorrows, griefs, and anguishes, reason doth take away; repentance only it doth breed and engender, which together with shame biteth and punisheth itself; for like as they who quiver and shake in the fevers called *epioli;* or contrariwise, burn by occasion of other agues, are more afflicted and more at ease than those who suffer the same accidents by exterior causes, to wit, winter's cold or summer's heat; even so all mischances and casual calamities bring with them lighter

dolours and pains as coming from without. But when a man is forced thus to confess:

> Myself I may well thank for this,
> None else for it blame worthy is:

which is an ordinary speech of them who lamentably bewail their sins from the bottom of their hearts, it causeth grief and sorrow to be so much more heavy, and it is joined with shame and infamy: whereupon it cometh to pass that neither house richly and finely furnished, nor heaps of gold and silver, no parentage or nobility of birth, no dignity of estate and authority, how high soever, no grace in speech, no force and power of eloquence, can yield unto a man's life such a calm (as it were) and peaceable tranquillity, as a soul and conscience clear from wicked deeds, sinful cogitations and lewd designs, which having the source and fountain of life (I mean the inward disposition of the heart) not troubled and polluted, but clear and cleansed; from whence all good and laudable actions do flow and proceed, and the same do give a lively, cheerful, and effectual operation, even by some divine instinct and heavenly inspiration, together with a bold courage and haughty mind, and withal yield the remembrance of a virtuous and well led life, more sweet, pleasant, firm and permanent than is that hope whereof Pindarus writeth, the nurse and fostress of old age: for we must not think that (as Carneades was wont to say) the censers [1] or perfuming pans wherein sweet incense is burned, retain and render the pleasant odour a long time after they be empty, and that the virtuous deeds of a wise and honest man should not always leave behind them in the soul an amiable, delightful and fresh remembrance thereof; by means whereof, that inward joy being watered, is ever green, buddeth and flourisheth still, despising the shameful error of those who with their plaints, moans and wailings defame this life of ours, saying: It is a very hell and place of torments or else a region of confined and exiled souls, into which they were sent away and banished forth of heaven.

And here I cannot choose but highly commend that memorable saying of Diogenes, who seeing once a certain stranger at Lacedæmon dressing and trimming himself very curiously against a festival and high day: What means all this (quoth he), my good friend? to a good and honest man is not every day in

[1] Or rosemary banks after they be cut down and left void, as some expound.

the year a feast and holy day? yes verily, and if we be wise we should think all days double feasts and most solemn gaudy-days: for surely this world is a right sacred and holy temple, yea, and most divine, beseeming the majesty of God, into which man is inducted and admitted at his nativity, not to gaze and look at statues and images cut and made by man's hand, and such as have no motion of their own, but to behold those works and creatures which that divine spirit and almighty power in wonderful wisdom and providence hath made and shewed unto us sensible; and yet (as Plato saith) representing and resembling intelligible powers, from whence proceed the beginnings of life and moving, namely, the sun, the moon, the stars; what should I speak of the rivers which continually send out fresh water still; and the earth which bringeth forth nourishment for all living creatures, and yieldeth nutriment likewise to every plant?

Now if our life be the imitation of so sacred mysteries, and (as it were) a profession and entrance into so holy a religion of all others most perfect, we must needs esteem it to be full of contentment and continual joy: neither ought we (as the common multitude doth) attend and wait for the feasts of Saturn, Bacchus, or Minerva, and such other high days wherein they may solace themselves, make merry and laugh, buying their mirth and joy for money, giving unto players, jesters, dancers, and such-like their hire and reward for to make them laugh. In which feasts and solemnities we use to sit with great contentment of mind, arrayed decently according to our degree and calling (for no man useth to mourn and lament when he is professed in the mysteries of Ceres, and received into that confraternity; no man sorroweth when he doth behold the goodly sights of the Pythian games; no man hungereth or fasteth during the Saturnals): what an indignity and shame is it then that in those feasts which God himself hath instituted, and wherein (as a man would say) he leadeth the dance, or is personally himself to give institution and induction, men should contaminate, pollute and profane as they do, dishonouring their life for the most part, with weeping, wailing, sighing and groaning, or at the leastwise in deep thoughts and pensive cares.

But the greatest shame of all other is this; that we take pleasure to hear the organs and instruments of music sound pleasantly; we delight to hear birds singing sweetly; we behold with right goodwill beasts playing, sporting, dancing and skipping featly; and contrariwise, we are offended when they howl, roar, snarl, and gnash their teeth, as also when they shew a

fierce, stern and hideous look; and all this while seeing our own lives heavy, sad, travailed and oppressed with most unpleasant passions, most intricate and inexplicable affairs, and overwhelmed with infinite and endless cares; yet we will not afford ourselves some rest and breathing time; nay (that which more is), we will not admit the speech and remonstrances of our friends and familiars, whom if we would give ear unto, we might without fault-finding receive the present, remember with joy and thanksgiving that which is past, and without distrust, suspicion and fear, expect with joyful and lightsome hope that which is to come.

OF UNSEEMLY AND NAUGHTY BASHFULNESS

THE SUMMARY

[Although it be needless to stand curiously upon the concatenation and coherence of these matters handled by Plutarch, how they be knit and linked together, considering that he penned these discourses of his at sundry times; and both they who have reduced them into one volume, and those also who have translated them out of Greek into other languages, have not all followed one order: yet I think verily that this present treatise, as concerning Naughty Bashfulness, is fitly joined next to the former, as touching the repose and tranquillity of the spirit. For one of the greatest shaking cracks that our soul can receive in her tranquillity is when she secretly and by stealth may be lifted from her seat for to drive a man to those things which may trouble him immediately, and much more afterwards. Now this evil bashfulness hath this vicious and dangerous quality, to know how to seduce and draw us by fair semblant, and nevertheless to trouble and confound after a strange fashion the contentment of our spirits, as appeareth plainly in this little book, which deserveth to be well perused and considered by all sorts of people. Now after he hath shewed what this evil shamefastness is, he declareth that it is no less pernicious and hurtful than impudency; adding, moreover, that we ought to take good heed, lest in avoiding it we fall into contrary extremities, as they do who are envious, shameless, obstinate, idle and dissolute. Then he proceedeth to teach us that the first and principal preservative against this poison is, to hold it for to be most dangerous and deadly, which he doth verify and prove by notable examples. Which done, he describeth particularly and from point to point, the incommodities, perils, and misfortunes that come by naughty bashfulness, applying thereto good and proper remedies, giving withal many sage and wise counsels drawn out of philosophy, tending to this scope and mark; that neither the regard of our friends, kinsfolk, and familiars, nor yet the respect of anything else besides, ought to draw from our thought, our mouth, or hands, anything contrary to the duty of an honest man: which both for the present and also all the rest of our life may leave in our soul the cicatrice or scar of repentance, sorrow, and heaviness. In conclusion, to the end that we should not commit those deeds in haste which afterwards we may repent at leisure; he sheweth that we ought to have before our eyes the hurts and inconveniences caused before by evil bashfulness, that the consideration thereof might keep us from falling into fresh and new faults.]

Among those plants which the earth bringeth forth, some there are which not only by their own nature be wild and savage, and withal bearing no fruit at all; but (that which worse is) in their growth do hurt unto good seeds and fruitful plants: and yet skilful gardeners and husbandmen judge them to be arguments and signs, not of bad ground, but rather of a kind and fat soil; semblably the passions and affections of the mind simply and in themselves are not good, howbeit they spring as buds and flowers from a towardly nature, and such as gently can yield itself to be wrought, framed, and brought into order by reason.

In this kind I may range that which the Greeks call ἡ Δυσωπία, which is as much to say, as a foolish and rustical shamefastness; no evil sign in itself, howbeit the cause and occasion of evil and naughtiness. For they that be given to bash and shame overmuch and when they should not, commit many times the same faults that they do who are shameless and impudent: here only is the difference, that they, when they trespass and do amiss, are displeased with themselves, and grieve for the matter; whereas these take delight and pleasure therein: for he that is graceless and past shame hath no sense or feeling of grief when he hath committed any foul or dishonest act; contrariwise, whosoever be apt to bash and be ashamed quickly are soon moved and troubled anon, even at those things which seem only dishonest, although they be not indeed.

Now, lest the equivocation of the word might breed any doubt, I mean by *dysopia*, immoderate bashfulness, whereby one blusheth for shame exceedingly and for everything, whereupon such an one is called in Greek *dysopetus*, for that his visage and countenance together with his mind changeth, falleth and is cast down: for like as κατήφεια in Greek is defined to be a sad heaviness, which causeth a down-look; even so, that shame and dismayedness which maketh us that we dare not look a man in the face as we should and when we ought, they call ἡ Δυσωπία. And hereupon it was that the great orator Demosthenes said of an impudent fellow that he had in his eyes not κορὰς but πορνὰς, *i.e.*, harlots, playing prettily upon the ambiguity of the word κόρη, which signifieth both the round apple in the eyes, and also a maiden or virgin: but contrariwise the over-bashful person (whom we speak of) sheweth in his countenance a mind too soft, delicate and effeminate, and yet he flattereth himself therein, and calleth that fault (wherein the impudent person surpasseth him) shamefastness. Now Cato was wont to say that he loved to see young folk rather to blush

than to look pale; as having good reason to acquaint and teach youth to dread shame and reproach more than blame and reproof; yea, and suspicion or obloquy rather than peril or danger.

Howbeit, we must abridge and cut off the excess and overmuch, which is in such timidity and fear of reproach; for that oftentimes it cometh to pass in some, who dreading no less to hear ill and be accused than to be chastised or punished; for false hearts are frighted from doing their duty, and in no wise can abide to have an hard word spoken of them. But as we are not to neglect these that are so tender, nor ought to feed them in their feebleness of heart; so again, we must not praise their disposition who are stiff and inflexible: such as the poet describeth when he saith:

> Who fearless is, and basheth not
> All men fast to behold;
> In whom appears the dogged force
> Of Anaxarchus bold:

but we ought to compound a good mixture and temperate medley of both extremities, which may take away this excessive obstinacy which is impudence, and that immoderate modesty which is mere childishness and imbecility. True it is that the cure of these two maladies is difficult; neither can this excess both in the one and the other be cut off without danger. For like as the skilful husbandman when he would rid the ground of some wild bushes and fruitless plants, he layeth at them mainly with his grubbing hook or mattock, until he have fetched them up by the root; or else sets fire unto them and so burneth them; but when he comes to prune or cut a vine, an apple-tree, or an olive, he carrieth his hand lightly for fear of wounding any of the sound wood, in fetching off the superfluous and rank branches, and so kill the heart thereof; even so the philosopher, intending to pluck out of the mind of a young man either envy, an unkind and savage plant, which hardly or unneth at all may be made gentle and brought to any good use; or the unseasonable and excessive greediness of gathering good, or dissolute and disordinate lust; he never feareth at all in the cutting thereof, to draw blood, to press and pierce hard to the bottom, yea, and to make a large wound and deep scar. But when he setteth to the keen edge of remonstrance and speech, to the tender and delicate part of the soul, for to cut away that which is excessive or overmuch, to wit, wherein is seated this unmeasurable and sheepish bashfulness, he hath a great care and regard, lest ere he

be aware he cut away therewith that ingenuous and honest shamefastness that is so good and commendable. For we see that even nurses themselves, when they think to wipe away the filth of their little infants, and to make them clean; if they rub anything hard, otherwhiles fetch off the skin withal, make the flesh raw and put them to pain.

And therefore we must take heed, that in seeking by all means to do out this excessive bashfulness utterly in young people we make them not brazen-faced, such as care not what is said unto them, and blush thereat no more than a blackdog, and in one word, standing stiff in anything that they do; but rather we ought to do as they who demolish and pull down the dwelling-houses that be near unto the temples of the gods; who for fear of touching anything that is holy or sacred, suffer those ends of the edifices and buildings to stand still which are next and joined close thereto; yea, and those they underprop and stay up, that they should not fall down of themselves; even so (I say) beware and fear we must, whiles we be tempering about this immoderate shamefacedness for to remove it, that we do not draw away with it grace and modesty, gentleness and debonairity, which be adjacents and lie close unto it; under which qualities lieth lurking and sticketh close to, the foresaid naughty bashfulness, flattering him that is possessed therewith, as if he were full of humanity, courtesy, civility and common sense; not opiniona-tive, severe, inflexible and untractable: which is the reason that the Stoic philosophers, when they dispute of this matter, have distinguished by several names this aptness to blush or over-much bashfulness from modesty and shamefacedness indeed: for fear lest the equivocation and ambiguity of one common word might give some occasion and vantage to the vicious passion itself to do some hurt. As for us, they must give us leave to use the terms without calumniation, or rather permit us to distinguish according to Homer, when he saith:

> Shame is a thing that doth mickle harm, and profiteth as much;

neither without good cause is it, that in the former place he putteth down the harm and discommodity thereof: for surely it is not profitable but by the means of reason, which cutteth off that which is superfluous, and leaveth a mean behind.

To come then unto the remedies thereof; it behoveth him first and foremost, who is given to blushing at every small matter, to believe and be persuaded that he is possessed with such an hurtful passion (now there is nothing hurtful which

is good and honest): neither ought he to take pleasure and delight when he shall be tickled in the ear with praises and commendations, when he shall hear himself called gentle, jolly and courteous, instead of grave, magnanimous and just; neither let him do as Pegasus the horse in Euripides, who

> When mount his back Bellerophontes should,
> With trembling stoop'd more than his own self would;

that is to say, give place and yield after a base manner to the demands and requests of every man; or object himself to their will and pleasure, for fear (forsooth) lest one should say of him, Lo, what a hard man is this! See how inexorable he is.

It is reported of Bocchorus, a king of Egypt, that being rough, fell and austere, the goddess Isis sent the serpent called Aspis for to wind and wreath about his head, and so to cast a shadow over him from above, to the end that he might be put in mind to judge aright: but this excessive shamefastness which always overspreadeth and covereth them who are not manly but faint-hearted and effeminate, not suffering them once to dare, to deny, or gainsay anything, surely, would avert and withdraw judges from doing justice, close up their mouths, that in counsels and consultations should deliver their opinion frankly; yea, and cause them both to say and do many things inconsiderately against their mind, which otherwhiles they would not. For look, whosoever is most unreasonable and importunate, he will ever tyrannise and domineer over such an one, forcing by his impudency the bashfulness of the other: by which means it cometh to pass that this excessive shame, like unto a low piece of soft ground which is ready to receive all the water that comes, and apt to be overflowed and drowned, having no power to withstand and repulse any encounter, nor say a word to the contrary whatsoever is proposed, yieldeth access to the lewdest designs, acts and passions that be. An evil guardian and keeper of childhood and young age is this excessive bashfulness, as Brutus well said, who was of this mind, that neither he nor she could well and honestly pass the flower of their fresh youth, who had not the heart and face to refuse and deny anything; even so likewise a bad governess it is of the bride-bed and women's chamber, according to that which she said in Sophocles to the adulterer who repented of the fact:

> Thy flattering words have me seduced,
> And so persuaded, I am abused.

In such sort as this bashfulness, over and besides that it is

vicious and faulty itself, spoileth and marreth clean the intemperate and incontinent person, by making no resistance to his appetites and demands, but letting all lie unfortified, unbarred and unlocked, yielding easy access and entrance to those that will make assault and give the attempt, who may by great gifts and large offers catch and compass the wickedest natures that be: but surely by persuasions and inductions, and by the means withal of this excessive bashfulness, they oftentimes conquer and get the mastery even of such as are of honest and gentle disposition.

Here I pass by the detriments and damages that this bashfulness hath been the cause of in many matters, and that of profit and commodity: namely, how many men, having not the heart to say nay, have put forth and lent their money even to those whose credit they distrust; have been sureties for such as otherwise they would have been loth and unwilling to engage themselves for, who can approve and commend this golden sentence (written upon the temple of Apollo), Be surety thou mayst, but make account then to pay: howbeit, they have not the power to do themselves good by that warning when they come to deal in the world. And how many have come unto their end and died by the means of this foolish quality, it were hard to reckon. For Creon in Euripides, when he spake thus unto Medea:

> For me, madame, it were much better now
> By flat denial your mind to discontent,
> Than having once thus yielded unto you
> Sigh afterwards full sore, and ay repent,

gave a very good lesson for others to follow; but himself overcome at length through his foolish bashfulness, granting one day longer of delay at her request, overthrew his own state and his whole house. Some there were also, who doubting and suspecting that they were laid for to be bloodily murdered, or made away by poison, yet upon a foolish modesty not refusing to go into the place of danger, came to their death and were soon destroyed. Thus died Dion; who, notwithstanding he knew well enough that Callippus laid wait for him to take away his life, yet (forsooth) abashed he was to distrust his friend and host, and so to stand upon his guard. Thus was Antipater, the son of Cassander, massacred; who having first invited Demetrius to supper, was bidden the morrow after to his house likewise; and for that he was abashed to mistrust Demetrius, who the day before had trusted him, refused not to go, but after

supper he was murdered for his labour. Moreover, when Polysperchon had undertaken and promised unto Cassander for the sum of one hundred talents to kill Hercules (a base son of King Alexander by Lady Barsine), he sent and requested the said Hercules to sup with him in his lodging, the young gentleman had no liking at all to such a bidding, but mistrusting and fearing his courtesy, alleged for his excuse that he was not well at ease: whereupon Polysperchon came himself in person unto him, and in this manner began to persuade: Above all things, my good child (quoth he), study and endeavour to imitate the humanity and sociable nature of your noble father, unless haply you have me in jealousy and suspicion as if I went about to compass your death. The youth was abashed to hear him say so, and went with him; well, supper was no sooner ended but they made an end of the young gentleman also, and strangled him outright: so that it is no ridiculous and foolish advertisement (as some let not to say), but a wise and sage advice of Hesiodus, when he saith:

> Thy friend and lover to supper do invite,
> Thy foe leave out, for he will thee requite.

Be not in any wise bashful and ashamed to refuse his offer whom thou knowest to hate thee: but never leave out and reject him once who seemeth to put his trust and confidence in thee: for if thou do invite, thou shalt be invited again; and if thou be bidden to a supper and go, thou canst not choose but bid again; if thou abandon once thy distrust and diffidence, which is the guard of thy safety, and so mar that good tincture and temperature by a foolish shame that thou hast, when thou darest not refuse.

Seeing then that this infirmity and malady of the mind is the cause of many inconveniences, assay we must to chase it away with all the might we have by exercise, beginning at the first like as men do in other exercises, with things that are not very difficult, nor such as a man may boldly have the face to deny: as for example, if at a dinner one chance to drink unto thee, when thou hast drunk sufficiently already, be not abashed to refuse for to pledge him, neither force thyself, but take the cup at his hand and set it down again on the board; again, there is another perchance that amidst his cups challengeth thee to hazard or to play at dice; be not ashamed to say him nay, neither fear thou although thou receive a flout and scoff at his hands for denial: but rather do as Xenophanes did, when one

Lasus, the son of Hermiones, called him coward because he would not play at dice with him: I confess (quoth he) I am a very dastard in those things that be lewd and naught, and I dare do nothing at all; moreover, say thou fall into the hands of a prattling and talkative busybody, who catcheth hold on thee, hangeth upon thee and will not let thee go? be not sheepish and bashful; but interrupt and cut his tale short, shake him off, I say, but go thou forward and make an end of thy business whereabout thou wentest: for such refusals, such repulses, shifts, and evasions in small matters, for which men cannot greatly complain of us, exercising us not to blush and be ashamed when there is no cause, do inure and frame us well beforehand unto other occasions of greater importance.

And here, in this place, it were not amiss to call unto remembrance a speech of Demosthenes: for when the Athenians, being solicited and moved to send aid unto Harpalus, were so forward in the action that they had put themselves in arms against King Alexander, all on a sudden they discovered upon their own coasts Philoxenus, the lieutenant-general of the king's forces, and chief admiral of his armada at sea: now when the people were so astonied upon this unexpected occurrence, that they had not a word to say for very fear: What will these men do (quoth Demosthenes) when they shall see the sun, who are so afraid that they dare not look against a little lamp; even so I say to thee that art given much to blush and be abashed: What wilt thou be able to do in weighty affairs, namely, when thou shalt be encountered by a king; or if the body of some people or state be earnest with thee to obtain ought at thy hand that is unreasonable? when thou hast not the heart to refuse for to pledge a familiar friend if he chance to drink unto thee and offer thee a cup of wine? or if thou canst not find means to escape and wind thyself out of the company of a babbling busybody that hath fastened and taken hold of thee, but suffer such a vain prating fellow as this to walk and lead thee at his pleasure up and down, having not so much power as to say thus unto him: I will see you again hereafter at some other time, now I have no leisure to talk with you.

Over and besides, the exercise and use of breaking yourselves of this bashfulness in praising others for small and light matters, will not be unprofitable unto you; as for example: Say that when you are at a feast of your friends, the harper or minstrel do either play or sing out of tune; or haply an actor of a comedy, dearly hired for a good piece of money, by his ill grace in acting

mar the play and disgrace the author himself, Menander, and yet nevertheless, the vulgar sort do applaud, clap their hands, and highly commend and admire him for his deed: in mine advice it would be no great pain or difficulty for thee to give him the hearing with patience and silence, without praising him after a servile and flattering manner, otherwise than you think it meet and reason: for if in such things as these you be not master of yourself, how will you be able to hold when some dear friend of yours shall read unto you either some foolish rhyme or bad poesy that himself hath composed? if he shall shew unto you some oration of his own foolish and ridiculous penning? you will fall a-praising of him, will you? you will keep a-clapping of your hands with other flattering jacks? I would not else. And if you do so, how can you reprove him when he shall commit some gross fault in greater matters? how shall you be able to admonish him, if he chance to forget himself in the administration of some magistracy or in his carriage in wedlock, or in politic government? And verily, for mine own part, I do not greatly allow and like of that answer of Pericles, who being requested by a friend to bear false witness in his behalf, and to bind the same with an oath, whereby he should be forsworn: I am your friend (quoth he) as far as the altar; as if he should have said: Saving my conscience and duty to the gods: for surely he was come too near already unto him. But he who hath accustomed himself long before neither to praise against his own mind one who hath made an oration, nor to applaud unto him who hath sung, nor to laugh heartily at him who came out with some stale or poor jest which had no grace; he will (I trow) never suffer his friend and familiar to proceed so far as to demand such a request of him, or once be so bold as to move him (who before had refused in smaller trifles to satisfy his desire) in this manner: Be perjured for me; bear false witness for my sake; or pronounce an unjust sentence for the love of me.

After the same manner we ought to be prepared and provided beforehand against those that be instant to borrow money of us, namely, if we have been used to deny them in matters that neither be of great moment nor hard to be refused. There was one upon a time, who being of this mind, that there was nothing so honest as to crave and receive, begged of Archelaus, the king of Macedonia (as he sate at supper), the cup of gold whereout he drunk himself; the king called unto his page that waited at his trencher, and commanded him to give the said cup unto

Euripides, who sat at the board; and withal, casting his eye wistly upon the party who craved it: As for you, sir (quoth he), worthy you are for your asking to go without; but Euripides deserveth to have, though he do not crave. A worthy speech, importing thus much, that the judgment of reason ought to be the best master and guide to direct us in our gifts and free liberality, and not bashfulness and shame to deny.

But we, contrariwise, neglecting and despising many times those that be honest and modest persons, yea, our very familiar friends, who have need of our help, and seem to request the same, are ready to bestow our bounty upon such as incessantly importune us with their impudent craving, not for any affection that we have to pleasure them, but because we cannot find in our heart to say them nay. Thus did King Antigonus the elder to Bias, after he had been a long time an importunate beggar: Give this Bias (quoth he) a talent, for methinks he will have it perforce: and yet this Antigonus, of all princes and kings that ever were, had the best grace and most dexterity to put by and shift off such unreasonable beggars: for when a beggarly cynical philosopher craved once at his hands a drachm: It is not for a king (quoth he) to give a drachm: Why then (quoth the other again) give me a talent: Neither is it meet (quoth the king) for a cynic to receive a talent. Diogenes, as he walked otherwhiles along the Ceramicum (that is, a street in Athens, where stood erected the statues of worthy personages), would ask alms of those images; and when some marvelled at him therefore: I do it (quoth he) to learn how to take a repulse and denial. Semblably, we ought first to be trained in small matters, and to exercise ourselves in denying slight requests unto such as would seem to demand and have at our hands that which is not fit and requisite, to the end that we may not be to seek for an answer when we would deny them in matters of greater importance: for as Demosthenes was wont to say: He who hath spent and bestowed that which he had otherwise than he should, will never employ those things which he hath, not as he ought, if peradventure he should be furnished again therewith. And look how often we do fail, and be wanting in honest things, and yet abound in superfluities, it is a sign that we are in a great fault, and many ways shame groweth to us by that means.

Moreover, so it is, that this excessive bashfulness is not only a bad and undiscreet steward to lay out and to disperse our money, but also to dispose of our serious affairs and those of great consequence, wherein it will not admit the advice and

counsel that reason giveth; for oftentimes it falleth out that when we be sick, we send not for the best and most expert physicians, in respect of some friend, whom we favour and reverence so, as we are loth to do otherwise than he would advise us: likewise we chuse for masters and teachers of our children, not those always who are best and meetest, but such as make suit and means unto us for to be entertained; yea, and many times, when we have a cause to be tried in the law, we chuse not always the most sufficient and expert advocates or barristers for our counsel to plead for us; but for to gratify a son of some familiar friend or kinsman of our own, we commit the cause to him for to practise and learn to plead in court to our great cost and loss.

To conclude, we may see many of those that make profession of philosophy, to wit, Epicureans, Stoics, and others, how they follow this or that sect, not upon their own judgment and election; but for that they were importuned by some of their kinsfolk or friends thereto, whom they were loth to deny. Come on, then, let us long before be exercised against such gross faults in vulgar, small and common occasions of this life; as, for example, let us break ourselves from using either a barber to trim us, or a painter[1] to draw our picture, for to satisfy the appetite of our foolish shamefacedness; from lodging also in some bad inn or hostelry where there is a better near at hand, because haply our host the good man of the house hath oftentimes saluted us kindly; but rather make we a custom of it (although there be but small difference and odds between one and another) always to chuse the better: and like as the Pythagoreans observed evermore precisely not to cross the right leg with the left, neither to take an odd number for an even, though otherwise all things else were equal and indifferent; even so are we to draw this into an ordinary practice, that when we celebrate any solemn sacrifice, or make a wedding dinner, or some great feast, we invite not him who is wont with reverence to give us the gentle greeting and good-morrow, or who seeing us a great way off useth to run unto us, rather than him whom we know to be an honest man and a well-willer of ours; for whosoever is thus inured and exercised long before shall be hardly caught and surprised; nay, rather he shall never be once assailed and set upon in weighty matters. And thus much may suffice as touching exercise and custom.

Moreover, to come unto other profitable instructions which

[1] γραφεῖ, Erasmus seemeth to read γναφεῖ, *i.e.*, a fuller.

we have gathered for this purpose, the principal in mine advice is this, which sheweth and teacheth us that all the passions and maladies of the mind be ordinarily accompanied with those inconveniences which we would seem to avoid by their means: as, for example, ambition and desire of honour hath commonly attending upon it dishonour; pain usually followeth the love of pleasures; labour and travail ensueth upon ease and delicacy; repulse, overthrows, and condemnations are the ends that ensue daily upon those that are given to be litigious, contentious, and desirous to cast, foil and conquer others; semblably it happeneth unto excessive bashfulness, which seeming to fly and shun the smoke of blame, casteth itself into the very fire and flame of infamy. For those who be abashed to gainsay and deny them, who importune them unreasonably, and will take no nay in things unjust, are constrained afterwards to bear both shame and blame at their hands who justly call them to their answer and accuse them worthily; and whiles they fear some light check or private rebuke, many times they are fain to incur and sustain open disgrace and reproach: for being abashed to deny a friend who craveth to borrow money, as being loth to say they have none, within a while after (with shame enough) they blush, when they shall be convinced to have had one; and having promised to assist and stand to some who have suit in law, by that means are forced to contend with others, and afterwards being ashamed thereof, are driven to hide their heads and fly out of the way. Also there be many whom this foolish modesty hath caused to enter into some disadvantageous promise as touching the marriage either of daughter or sister, and being entangled therewith have been constrained afterwards upon change of mind to break their word and fail in their promise; as for him who said in old time, that all the inhabitants of Asia served as slaves unto one man; for that they knew not how to pronounce one only negative syllable, οὐ, that is, No; he spake not in earnest but by way of bourd, and was disposed to jest: but surely these bashful persons may if they list without one word spoken, by knitting and bending their brows only, or nodding downward to the ground, avoid and escape many offices and absurd inconveniences, which oftentimes they do unwillingly and only upon importunity. For as Euripides said very well:

> Wise men do know how things to take:
> And of silence an answer to make.

And haply we have more cause to take that course with such

as be senseless and unreasonable: for to those who be honest, sensible, and of more humanity, we need not fear to make excuse and satisfy them by word of mouth. And for this purpose it were not amiss to be furnished with many answers and notable apothegms of great and famous persons in times past; and to have them ready at hand to allege against such importunate and impudent fellows. Such was that saying of Phocion to Antipater: You cannot have me to be your friend and a flatterer too; likewise the answer which he made unto the Athenians, who were earnest with him to contribute and give somewhat toward the charges of solemnising a great feast, and withal applauded and clapped their hands: It were a shame (quoth he) that I should give anything over and above unto you, and not to pay that which I owe to him yonder, pointing therewith to Callicles the usurer: for as Thucydides said; It is no shame to confess and acknowledge poverty; but more shameful it is indeed not to avoid and eschew it. But he who by reason of a faint, feeble and delicate heart dare not for foolish shame answer thus unto one that demandeth to borrow money:

> My friend, I have in house or purse
> No silver white, for to disburse,

and then suffereth to pass out of his mouth a promise (as it were), an earnest penny or pawn of assurance:

> Is tied by foot with fetters not of brass
> Nor iron wrought; but shame, and cannot pass.

But Perseus, when he lent forth a sum of money to one of his familiar friends and acquaintance, went into the open market-place to pass the contract at the very bank or table of exchangers and usurers; being mindful of that rule and precept of the poet Hesiodus, which teacheth us in these words:

> However thou laugh with brother more or less,
> With him make no contract without witness.

Now when his friend marvelled hereat and said; How now, Perseus, so formally and according to law? Yea (quoth he), because I would receive my money again of you friendly, and not require it by course and suit of law. For many there be who at the first upon a kind of foolish modesty are abashed to call for assurance and security, but afterward be forced to proceed by order of law, and so make their friends their enemies. Again, Cato, sending commendatory letters unto Denys the Tyrant, in the behalf and favour of one Helicona Cyzicene, as of a kind,

modest, and courteous person, subscribed in manner of a postdate under his letter thus: That which you read above, take it as written in the commendation of a man, that is to say, of a living creature by nature mutable.

Contrariwise, Xenocrates, although he were otherwise in his behaviour austere, yet being overcome and yielding to a kind of foolish modesty of his own, recommended in his letters unto Polysperchon a man of no worth or quality, as it proved afterwards by the sequel: Now when as that Macedonian lord bade the party welcome, and friendly gave him his hand, and withal used some words of course and compliment, demanding whether he had need of ought, and bidding him call for what he would; he made no more ado, but craved a whole talent of silver at his hands; which Polysperchon caused presently indeed to be weighed out unto him; but he dispatched his letters withal unto Xenocrates to this effect: That from thenceforth he should be more circumspect, and consider better whom he recommended unto him: and verily, herein only was the error of Xenocrates, for that he knew not the man for whom he wrote: but we oftentimes knowing well enough that they be lewd and naughty persons, yet are very forward with our commendatory letters; yea, and that which more is, our purse is open unto them; we are ready to put money into their hands, to our own hindrance and damage; not with any pleasure that we take, nor upon affection unto them, as they do who bestow their silver upon courtesans, pleasants, and flatterers to gratify them; but as displeased and discontented with their impudency, which overturneth our reason upside down, and forceth us to do against our own judgment, in such sort that if ever there were cause besides, we may by good reason say unto these bold and shameless beggars, that thus take vantage of our bashfulness:

> I see that I must for your sake,
> Lewd courses ever undertake;

namely, in bearing false witness, in pronouncing wrong judgment; in giving my voice at any election for an unworthy and unmeet person; or in putting my money into his hands, whom I know unsufficient, and who will never repay it. And therefore, of all passions this lewd and excessive modesty is that which is accompanied presently with repentance, and hath it not following afterwards as the rest: for at the very instant when we give away our money, we grieve; when we bear such witness, we blush; when we assist them and set to our helping hand, we

incur infamy; and if we furnish them not with that which they require, we are convinced as though we were not able. And forasmuch as our weakness is such that we cannot deny them simply that which they would have, we undertake and promise many times unto those who do importune and lie upon us uncessantly, even those things that we are not able to compass and make good; as namely, our commendatory letters for to find favour in princes' courts; to be mediators for them unto great rulers and governors, and to talk with them about their causes; as being neither willing nor so hardy as thus to say; The king knoweth not us; he regardeth others more, and you were better go to such and such. After this manner, when Lysander had offended King Agesilaus and incurred his heavy displeasure, and yet was thought worthy to be chief in credit above all those that were about him, in regard of the great opinion and reputation that men had of him for his noble acts, he never bashed to repel and put back those suitors that came unto him, making excuse and bidding them to go unto others, and assay them, who were in greater credit with the king than himself. For it is no shame not to be able to effect all things, but for a man to be driven upon a foolish modesty to enterprise such matters as he is neither able to compass nor meet to manage, besides that it is shameful, I hold it also a right great corrosive to the heart.

But now to go unto another principle, we ought willingly and with a ready heart to do pleasure unto those that request at our hands such things as be meet and reasonable; not as forced thereto by a rustical fear of shame, but as yielding unto reason and equity. Contrariwise, if their demands be hurtful, absurd, and without all reason, we ought evermore to have the saying of Zeno in readiness, who meeting with a young man, one of his acquaintance, walking close under the town wall secretly as if he would not be seen, asked of him the cause of his being there, and understanding by him that it was because he would avoid one of his friends, who had been earnest with him to bear false witness in his behalf: What sayst thou (quoth Zeno), sot that thou art? Was thy friend so bold and shameless to require that of thee which is unreasonable, unjust and hurtful unto thee? And darest thou not stand against him in that which is just and honest? For whosoever he was that said:

> A crooked wedge is fit to cleave
> A knotted knurry tree,
> It well beseems against lewd folk
> With lewdness arm'd to be,

teacheth us an ill lesson, to learn to be naught ourselves when we would be revenged of naughtiness. But such as repulse those who impudently and with a shameless face do molest and trouble them, not suffering themselves to be overcome with shamefacedness, but rather shame to grant unto shameless beggars those things that be shameful, are wise men and well advised, doing herein that which is right and just.

Now as touching those importunate and shameless persons who otherwise are but obscure, base and of no worth, it is of no great matter to resist them when they be troublesome unto us. And some there be who make no more ado but shift them off with laughter or a scoff: like as Theocritus served twain who would seem to borrow of him his rubber or currying-comb in the very bain; of which two, the one was a mere stranger unto him, the other he knew well enough for a notorious thief: I know not you (quoth he) to the one; and to the other, I know what you are well enough; and so he sent them both away with a mere frump. Lysimache, the priestess of Minerva in Athens, surnamed Polias, that is, the patroness of the city, when certain muleteers who brought sacrifices unto the temple called unto her for to pour them out drink freely: No (quoth she), my good friends, I may not do so, for fear you will make a custom of it.

Antigonus had under him in his retinue a young gentleman, whose father in times past had been a good warrior, and led a band or company of soldiers, but himself was a very coward and of no service, and when he sued unto him (in regard of his birth) to be advanced unto the place of his father, late deceased: Young man (quoth he), my manner is to recompense and honour the prowess and manhood of my soldiers, and not their good parentage. But if the party who assaileth our modesty be a noble man, of might and authority (and such kind of persons of all other will most hardly endure a repulse, and be put off with a denial or excuse, and namely, in the case of giving sentence or award in a matter of judgment, or in a voice at the election of magistrates), peradventure it may be thought neither easy nor necessary to do that which Cato sometimes did, being then but of young years, unto Catulus; now this Catulus was a man of exceeding great authority among the Romans, and for that time bear the censorship, who came unto Cato (then lord high treasurer of Rome that year) as a mediator and intercessor for one who had been condemned before by Cato in a round fine, pressing and importuning him so hard with earnest prayer and

entreaty, that in the end Cato, seeing how urgent and unreasonable he was, and not able to endure him any longer, was forced to say thus unto him: You would think it a foul disgrace and shame for you, Catulus, censor as you are, since you will not receive an answer and be gone, if my serjeants and officers here should take you by the head and shoulders and send you away: with that, Catulus being abashed and ashamed, departed in great anger and discontentment.

But consider rather and see whether the answer of Agesilaus and that which Themistocles made, were not more modest and savoured of greater humanity: for Agesilaus, when his own father willed him to give sentence in a certain cause that was brought before him, against all right and directly contrary to the laws: Father (quoth he), yourself have taught me from my very childhood to obey the laws; I will be therefore obedient still to your good precepts, and pass no judgment against law. As for Themistocles, when as Simonides seemed to request of him somewhat which was unjust and unlawful: Neither were you, Simonides (quoth he), a good poet, if you should not keep time and number in your song, nor I a good magistrate if I should judge against the law. And yet (as Plato was wont to say) it is not for want of due proportion between the neck and body of the lute, that one city is at variance with another city, and friends fall out and be at difference, doing what mischief they can one to another, and suffering the like again; but for this rather, that they offend and fail in that which concerneth law and justice. Howbeit, you shall have some, who themselves observing the precise rules most exactly according to art in music, in grammatical orthography, and in the poetical quantity of syllables and measures of feet, can be in hand with others, and request them to neglect and forget that which they ought to do in the administration of government, in passing of judgments, and in their other actions.

And therefore, with such as these be, I would have you take this course which I will now tell you: Is there an advocate or rhetorician that doth importune you sitting as judge upon the bench? or is there an orator that troubleth you with an unreasonable suit as you sit in council? grant them both that which they request, upon condition that the one in the entry of his plea will commit a solecism or incongruity, and the other in the beginning of his narration come out with some barbarism: but it is all to nothing that they will never do so, it would be thought such a shame; and in very truth, we see that some of

them are so fine eared that they cannot abide in a speech or sentence that two vowels should come together: again, Is he one of the nobility, or a man of honour and authority, that troubleth you with some unhonest suit? will him likewise for your sake to pass through the market-place hopping and dancing, making mows, and writhing his mouth; but if he deny so to do, then have you good occasion and fit opportunity to come upon him with this revie, and demand of him, whether of the twain be more dishonest, to make incongruity in speech, and to make mows, and set the mouth awry; or to break the laws, commit perjury, and beside all right, equity and conscience, to award and adjudge more unto the lewd and wicked than to good and honest persons?

Moreover, like as Nicostratus the Argive answered unto Archidamus, who solicited him with a good sum of money (promising him besides in marriage what lady he would himself chuse in all Lacedæmon) to betray and render up by treason the town Cromnum: I see well (quoth he), O Archidamus, that you are not descended from the race of Hercules, for that he travelled through the world killing wicked persons whom he had vanquished, but your study is to make them wicked who are good and honest; even so we ought to say unto him, who would be thought a man of worth and good mark, and yet cometh to press and force us to commit those deeds which are not befitting, that he doth that which beseemeth not his nobility or opinion of virtue.

Now if they be mean and base persons to account who shall thus tempt you, go this way to work with such: If he be a covetous miser, and one that loveth his money too well, see and try whether you can induce and persuade him by all importunity to credit you with a talent of silver upon your bare word, without schedule, obligation or specialty for his security; or if he be an ambitious and vain-glorious person, try if you can prevail with him so much as to give you the upper hand or higher seat in public place; or if he be one that desireth to bear rule and office, assay him whether he will give over his possibility that he hath to such a magistracy, especially when he is in the ready way to obtain it? Certes, we may well think it a very strange and absurd thing that such as they in their vices and passions should stand and continue so stiff, so resolute and so hard to be removed; and we who profess and would be reputed honest men, lovers of virtue, justice and equity, cannot be masters of ourselves, but suffer virtue to be subverted, and

cast it at our heels. For if they who by their importunity urge our modesty, do it either for their own reputation or their authority, it were absurd and beside the purpose for us to augment the honour, credit and authority of another, and to dishonour, discredit and disgrace ourselves; like unto those who be in an ill name, and incur the obloquy of the world, who either in public and solemn games defraud those of the prizes and rewards who have achieved victory, or who at the election of magistrates, deprive those of their right of suffrages and voices to whom it doth belong, for to gratify others that deserve it not, thereby to procure to the one sort the honour of sitting in high places, and to the other the glory of wearing coronets, and so by doing pleasure unto others, falsify their own faith, defame themselves, and lose the opinion and reputation they had of honesty and good conscience. Now if we see that it is for his own lucre and gain that any one urge us beyond all reason to do a thing, how is it that we do not presently consider that it is absurd and without all sense to hazard and put to compromise (as it were) our own reputation and virtue for another man, to the end that the purse of some one (I know not who) should thereby be more weighty and heavy?

But certainly many there be unto whom such considerations as these are presented, and who are not ignorant that they tread aside and do amiss; much like to them who, being challenged to drink off great bowls full of wine, take pains to pledge them with much ado, even so long till their eyes be ready to start out of their heads, changing their countenance, and panting for want of wind, and all to pleasure those that put them to it. But surely this feebleness of mind and faint heart of theirs resembleth the weak constitution and temperature of the body, which cannot away either with scorching heat or chilling cold. For be they praised by those who set upon them thus impudently, they are ready to leap out of their skins for joy; and say they doubt for to be accused, checked, rebuked or suspected, if haply they deny, then they are ready to die for woe and fear.

But we ought to be well defended and fortified against the one and the other, that we yield neither to them that terrify us, nor to those that flatter us. Thucydides verily supposing it impossible for one to be great or in high place and not envied, saith, That the man is well advised and led by good counsel who shooteth at the greatest and highest affairs, if he must be subject unto envy. For mine own part, thinking as I do,

that it is no hard matter to escape envy, but to avoid all complaints and to keep ourselves from being molested by some one or other that converse with us and keep our company, a thing impossible: I suppose it good counsel for us, and the best thing we can do for our own safety, to incur rather the ill will and displeasure of lewd, importunate and unreasonable people, than of those who have just cause to blame and accuse us, if against all right and justice we satisfy their minds and be ready to do them service and pleasure: as for the praises and commendations which proceed from such lewd and shameless persons, being as they are in every respect counterfeit and sophistical, we ought to beware and take heed of; neither must we suffer ourselves as swine to be rubbed, scratched or tickled, and all the whiles stand still and gently, letting them do with us what they will, until they may with ease lay us all along, when we have once yielded to be so handled at their pleasure: for surely they that give ear to flatterers differ in no respect from those who set out their legs of purpose to be supplanted and to have their heels tripped up from under them; save only in this, that those are worse foiled and catch the more shameful fall, I mean as well such as remit punishment to naughty persons, because forsooth they love to be called merciful, mild, and gentle; as those on the contrary side, who being persuaded by such as praise them, do submit themselves to enmities and accusations needless, but yet perilous; as being borne in hand and made believe they were the only men, and such alone as stood invincible against all flattery, yea, and those whom they stick not to term their very mouths and voices; and therefore Bion likened them most aptly to vessels that had two ears, for that they might be carried so easily by the ears which way a man would: like as it is reported of one Alexinus, a sophister, who upon a time as he walked with others in the gallery Peripatos, spake all that naught was of Stilpo the Megarean: and when one of the company said unto him, What mean you by this, considering that of late and no longer since than the other day, he gave out of you all the good that may be? I wot well (quoth he), for he is a right honest gentleman, and the most courteous person in the world. Contrariwise Menedemus, when he heard that Alexinus had praised him many a time; But I (quoth he) do never speak well of Alexinus; and therefore a bad man he must needs be, that either praiseth a naughty person, or is dispraised of an honest man: So hard it was to turn or catch him by any such means as making use

and practising that precept which Hercules Atistheneus taught his children, when he admonished and warned them that they should never con those thank who praised them: and this was nothing else but not to suffer a man's self to be overcome by foolish modesty, nor to flatter them again who praised him. For this may suffice in mine opinion which Pindarus answered upon a time to one who said unto him: That in every place and to all men he never ceased to commend him: Grand mercy (quoth he), and I will do this favour unto you again that you may be a true man of your word, and be thought to have spoken nothing but the truth.

To conclude, that which is good and expedient against all other affections and passions, they ought surely to remember who are easily overcome by this hurtful modesty, whensoever they, giving place soon to the violence of this passion, do commit a fault and tread awry against their mind: namely, to call to remembrance the marks and prints of remorse and repentance sticking fast in their mind, and to repeat eftsoons and keep the same a long time. For like as wayfaring men, after they have once stumbled upon a stone; or pilots at sea, when they have once split their ship upon a rock and suffered shipwreck, if they call those accidents to remembrance, for ever after do fear and take heed not only of the same, but of such-like; even so they that set before their eyes continually the dishonours and damages which they have received by this hurtful and excessive modesty, and represent the same to their mind once wounded and bitten with remorse and repentance, will in the like afterwards reclaim themselves, and not so easily another time be perverted and seduced out of the right way.

OF BROTHERLY LOVE OR AMITY

THE SUMMARY

[A MAN should have profited but badly in the school of virtue, if endeavouring to carry himself honestly toward his friends and familiars, yea, and his very enemies, he continue still in evil demeanour with his own brethren, unto whom he is joined naturally by the streightest line and link that can be devised. But for that ever since the beginning of the world this proverbial sentence from time to time hath been current and found true; that the unity of brethren is a rare thing: Plutarch, after he had complained in the very entrance of this little book that such a malady as this reigned mightily in his time, goeth about afterwards to apply a remedy thereto. And to this effect he sheweth, that since brotherly amity is taught and prescribed by nature, those who love not their brethren be blockish, unnatural, enemies to their own selves; yea, and the greatest atheists that may be found. And albeit the obligation wherein we are bound to our parents amounteth to so high a sum as we are never able fully to discharge; he proveth notwithstanding, that brotherly love may stand for one very good payment toward that debt: whereupon he concludeth, that hatred between brethren ought to be banished; for that if it once creep in and get between, it will be a very hard matter to rejoin and reconcile them again. Afterwards he teacheth a ready and compendious way how a man ought to manage and use a brother ill disposed. In what manner brethren should carry themselves one to another, both during the life of their father and also after his decease; discoursing at large upon the duty of those who are the elder, or higher advanced in other respects; as also what they should do, who are the younger; namely, that as they are not equal to their other brethren in years, so they be their inferiors in place of honour and in wealth; likewise what means as well the one as the other are to follow, for to avoid envy and jealousy. Which done, he teacheth brethren who in age come very near their natural duty and kindness that they ought to shew one unto another; to which purpose he produceth proper examples of brotherly amity among the pagans: In the end, since he cannot possibly effect thus much, that brethren should evermore accord well together, he setteth down what course they are to take in their differences and disagreements; and how their friends ought to be common between them; and for a final conclusion, he treateth of that honest care and respective regard one of another that they ought to have, and especially of their kinsfolk, which he enricheth with two other notable examples.]

THOSE ancient statues representing the two brethren Castor and Pollux, the inhabitants of the city Sparta were wont in their language to call δόκανα. And two parallel pieces of

timber they are of an equal distance asunder, united and joined together by two other pieces overthwart: now it should seem that this was a device fitting very well and agreeable to the brotherly amity of the said two gods, for to shew that undivisible union which was between them; and even so, I also do offer and dedicate unto you, O Nigrinus and Quintus, this little treatise as touching the amity of brethren, a gift common unto you both as those who are worthy of the same: for seeing that of your own accord you practise that already which it teacheth and exhorteth unto, you shall be thought not so much to be admonished thereby, as by your example to confirm and testify the same which therein is delivered; and the joy which you shall conceive to see that approved and commended which yourselves do, shall give unto your judgment a farther assurance to continue therein; as if your actions were allowed and praised by virtuous and honest beholders of the same.

Aristarchus verily, the father of Theodectes, scoffing at the great number of those sophisters or counterfeit sages in his days, said: That in old time hardly could be found seven wise men throughout the world; but in our days (quoth he) much ado there is to find so many fools or ignorant persons. But I may very well and truly say: That I see in this age wherein we live the amity of brethren to be as rare as their hatred was in times past. The examples whereof being so few as they were among our ancients, were thought by men in those days living, notable arguments to furnish tragedies and theatres with, as matters very strange and in a manner fabulous. But contrariwise, all they that live in this age, if haply they meet with two brethren that be good and kind one to another, wonder and marvel thereat as much as if they saw those Molionides (of whom Homer speaketh) whose bodies seemed to grow together in one: and as incredible and miraculous do they think it, that brethren should use in common the patrimony, goods, friends and slaves which their fathers left behind unto them, as if one and the same soul alone ruled the feet, hands and eyes of two bodies.

And yet nature herself hath set down a lively example of that mutual behaviour and carriage that ought to be among brethren, and the same not far off, but even within our own bodies, wherein she hath framed and devised for the most part those members double, and as a man would say, brethren-like and twins, which be necessary, to wit, two hands, two feet, two eyes, two ears and two nostrils; shewing thereby that she hath thus distinguished them all, not only for their natural health

and safety, but also for a mutual and reciprocal help, and not for to quarrel and fight one with another. As for the hands, when she parted them into many fingers, and those of unequal length and bigness, she hath made them of all other organical parts the most proper artificious and workmanlike instruments; insomuch as that ancient philosopher Anaxagoras ascribed the very cause of man's wisdom and understanding unto the hands. Howbeit, the contrary unto this should seem rather to be true; for man was not the wisest of all other living creatures in regard of his hands, but because by nature being endued with reason, given to be witty and capable of arts and sciences, he was likewise naturally furnished with such instruments as these.

Moreover, this is well known unto every man, that nature hath formed of one and the same seed, as of one principle of life, two, three, and more brethren; not to the end that they should be at debate and variance, but that being apart and asunder, they might the better and more commodiously help one another. For those men with three bodies and a hundred arms apiece, which the poets describe unto us (if ever there were any such), being joined and grown together in all their parts, were not able to do anything at all when they were parted asunder, or as it were, without themselves: which brethren can do well enough, namely, dwell and keep within house and go abroad together, meddle in affairs of state, exercise husbandry and tillage one with another, in case they preserve and keep well that principle of amity and benevolence which nature hath given them. For otherwise they should (I suppose) nothing differ from those feet which are ready to trip or supplant one another, and cause them to catch a fall: or they should resemble those hands and fingers which enfolded and clasp one another untowardly against the course of nature. But rather according as in one and the same body, the cold, the hot, the dry, and the moist, participating likewise in one and the same nature and nourishment, if they do accord and agree well together, engender an excellent temperature and most pleasant harmony, to wit, the health of the body, without which, neither all the wealth of the world, as men say,

> Nor power of royal majesty,
> Which equal is to deity,

have any pleasure, grace or profit: but in case these principal elements of our life covet to have more than their just proportion, and thereupon break out into a kind of civil sedition, seeking one to surcrease and overgrow another, soon there

ensueth a filthy corruption and confusion which overthroweth the state of the body and the creature itself; semblably, by the concord of brethren, the whole race and house is in good case and flourisheth, the friends and familiars belonging to them (like a melodious quire of musicians) make a sweet consent and harmony: for neither they do, nor say, nor think anything that jarreth or is contrary one to the other,

> Whereas in discord such, and taking part,
> The worse eftsoons do speed, whiles better smart;

to wit, some ill-tongued varlet and pickthank carry-tale within the house, or some flattering claw-back coming between, and entering into the house, or else some envious and malicious neighbour in the city. For like as diseases do engender in those bodies which neither receive nor stand well affected to their proper and familiar nourishment, many appetites of strange and hurtful meats; even so, a slanderous calumniation of jealousy being gotten once among those of a blood and kindred, doth draw and bring withal evil words and naughty speeches, which from without are always ready enough to run thither where as a breach lieth open, and where there is some fault already.

That divine master and soothsayer of Arcadie, of whom Herodotus writeth, when he had lost one of his own natural feet, was forced upon necessity to make himself another of wood: but a brother being fallen out and at war with a brother, and constrained to get some stranger to be his companion, either out of the market-place and common hall of the city as he walketh there, or from the public place of exercise, where he useth to behold the wrestlers and others; in my conceit doth nothing else but willingly cut off a part or limb of his own body made of flesh, and engraffed fast unto him, for to set another in the place which is of another kind and altogether a stranger. For even necessity itself, which doth entertain, approve and seek for friendship and mutual acquaintance, teacheth us to honour, cherish and preserve that which is of the same nature and kind; for that without friends' society and fellowship we are not able to live solitary and alone as most savage beasts, neither will our nature endure it: and therefore in Menander he saith very well and wisely:

> By jolly cheer and bankets day by day,
> Think we to find (O father) trusty friends,
> To whom ourselves and life commit we may?
> No special thing for cost to make amends;
> I found he hath, who by that means hath met
> With shade of friends; for such I count no bet.

For to say a truth, most of our friendships be but shadows, semblances and images of that first amity which nature hath imprinted and engraffed in children toward their parents, in brethren toward their brethren: and he who doth not reverence nor honour it, how can he persuade and make strangers believe that he beareth sound and faithful goodwill unto strangers? Or what man is he who in his familiar greetings and salutations, or in his letters, will call his friend and companion brother, and cannot find in his heart so much as to go with his brother in the same way? For as it were a point of great folly and madness to adorn the statue of a brother, and in the meantime to beat and maim his body; even so, to reverence and honour the name of a brother in others, and withal to shun, hate, and disdain a brother indeed, were the case of one that were out of his wits, and who never conceived in his heart and mind that nature is the most sacred and holy thing in the world.

And here, in this place, I cannot choose but call to mind how at Rome upon a time I took upon me to be umpire between two brethren, of whom the one seemed to make profession of philosophy; but he was (as after it appeared) not only untruly entituled by the name of a brother, but also as falsely called a philosopher: for when I requested of him that he should carry himself as a philosopher toward his brother, and such a brother as altogether was unlettered and ignorant: In that you say (ignorant quoth he) I hold well with you, and I avow it a truth; but as for brother, I take it for no such great and venerable matter to have sprung from the same loins, or to have come forth of one womb. Well (said I again), it appears that you make no great account to issue out of the same natural members; but all men else besides you, if they do not think and imagine so in their hearts, yet I am sure they do both sing and say that nature first, and then law (which doth preserve and maintain nature), have given the chief place of reverence and honour next after the gods unto father and mother; neither can men perform any service more acceptable unto the gods than to pay willingly, readily, and affectionately unto parents who begat and brought them forth, unto nurses and fosters that reared them up, the interest and usury for the old thanks, besides the new which are due unto them.

And on the other side again, there is not a more certain sign and mark of a very atheist, than either to neglect parents, or to be any ways ungracious or defective in duty unto them: and therefore, whereas we are forbidden in express terms by the law

to do wrong or hurt unto other men: if one do not behave himself to father and mother both in word and deed, so as they may have (I do not say no discontentment and displeasure, but) joy and comfort thereby, men esteem him to be profane, godless, and irreligious. Tell me now, what action, what grace, what disposition of children towards their parents, can be more agreeable and yield them greater contentment than to see good-will, kind affection, fast and assured love between brethren? the which a man may easily gather by the contrary in other smaller matters. For seeing that fathers and mothers be displeased otherwhiles with their sons, if they misuse or hardly intreat some home-born slave whom they set much store by: if, I say, they be vexed and angry when they see them to make no reckoning and care of their woods and grounds wherein they took some joy and delight; considering also that the good, kind-hearted old folk of a gentle and loving affection that they have, be offended if some hound or dog bred up within house, or an horse, be not well tended and looked unto; last of all, if they grieve when they perceive their children to mock, find fault with, or despise the lectures, narrations, sports, sights, wrestlers, and others that exercise feats of activity, which themselves sometime highly esteemed: Is there any likelihood that they in any measure can endure to see their children hate one another? to entertain brawls and quarrels continually? to be ever snarling, railing and reviling one another? and in all enterprises and actions always crossing, thwarting and supplanting one another? I suppose there is no man will so say.

Then on the contrary side, if brethren love together and be ready one to do for another; if they draw in one line and carry the like affection with them; follow the same studies and take the same courses; and how much nature hath divided and separated them in body, so much to join for it again in mind; lending one another their helping hands in all their negotiations and affairs; following the same exercises; repairing to the same disputations; and frequenting the same plays, games, and pastimes, so as they agree and communicate in all things: certainly this great love and amity among brethren must needs yield sweet joy and happy comfort to their father and mother in their old age: and therefore parents take nothing so much pleasure when their children prove eloquent orators, wealthy men, or advanced to promotions and high places of dignities; as loving and kind one to another; like as a man shall never see a father so desirous of eloquence, of riches, or of honour,

as he is loving to his own children. It is reported of Queen Apollonis the Cyzicen, mother to King Eumenes and to three other princes, to wit, Attalus, Philetærus, and Athenæus, that she reputed and reported herself to be right happy, and rendered thanks unto the immortal gods, not for her riches nor royal port and majesty; but that it was her good fortune to see those three younger sons of hers serving as pensioners and esquires of the body to Eumenes their elder brother, and himself living fearless and in as security in the midst of them, standing about his person with their pollaxes, halberds, and partisans in their hands, and girded with swords by their sides. On the other side, King Xerxes, perceiving that his son Ochus set an ambush and laid trains to murder his brethren, died for very sorrow and anguish of heart. Terrible and grievous are the wars, said Euripides, between brethren; but unto their parents above all others most grievous; for that whosoever hateth his own brother, and may not vouchsafe him a good eye and kind look, cannot choose but in his heart blame the father that begat him, and the mother that bare him.

We read that Pisistratus married his second wife when his sons whom he had by the former were now men grown, saying: That since he saw them prove so good and towardly, he gladly would be the father of many more that might grow up like them; even so, good and loyal children will not only affect and love one another for their parents' sakes, but also love their parents so much the more, in regard of their mutual kindness, as making this account, thinking also and saying thus to themselves; That they are obliged and bounden unto them in many respects, but principally for their brethren, as being the most precious heritage, the sweetest and most pleasant possession that they inherit by them. And therefore Homer did very well when he brought in Telemachus among other calamities of his, reckoning this for one, that he had no brother at all; and saying thus:

> For Jupiter my father's race in me alone
> Now ended hath, and given me brother none.

As for Hesiodus, he did not well to wish and give advice to have an only begotten son, to be the full heir and universal inheritor of a patrimony; even that Hesiodus who was the disciple of those Muses whom men have named μοῦσας, as it were ὁμοῦ οὖσας, for that by reason of their mutual affection and sister-like love they keep always together. Certes, the amity of brethren is so respective to parents, that it is both a certain demonstration

that they love father and mother, and also such an example and lesson unto their children to love together, as there is none other like unto it, but contrariwise, they take an ill precedent to hate their own brethren from the first original of their father: for he that liveth continually and waxeth old in suits of law, in quarrels and dissensions with his own brethren, and afterward shall seem to preach unto his children for to live friendly and lovingly together, doth as much as he who according to the common proverb:

> The sores of others will seem to heal and cure,
> And is himself of ulcers full impure;

and so by his own deeds doth weaken the efficacy of his words. If then Eteocles the Theban, when he had once said unto his brother Polynices, in Euripides:

> To stars about sun-rising would I mount,
> And under earth descend as far again,
> By these attempts, if I might make account
> This sovereign royalty of gods to gain,

should come afterwards again unto his sons and admonish them:

> For to maintain and honour equal state,
> Which knits friends ay in perfect unity,
> And keeps those link'd who are confederate,
> Preserving cities in league and amity:
> For nothing more procures security,
> In all the world, than doth equality,

who would not mock him and despise his admonition? And what kind of man would Atreus have been reputed, if after he had set such a supper as he did before his brother, he should in this manner have spoken sentences and given instruction to his own children?

> When great mishap and cross calamity
> Upon a man is fallen suddenly,
> The only meed is found by amity
> Of those whom blood hath joined perfectly.

Banish therefore we must, and rid away clean, all hatred from among brethren, as a thing which is a bad nurse to parents in their old age, and a worse fostress to children in their youth; besides, it giveth occasion of slander, calumniation and obloquy among their fellow-citizens and neighbours, for thus do men conceive and deem of it: That brethren having been nourished and brought up together so familiarly from their very cradle,

it cannot be that they should fall out and grow to such terms of enmity and hostility, unless they were privy one to another of some wicked plots and most mischievous practices. For great causes they must be that are able to undo great friendship and amity, by means whereof hardly or unneth afterwards they can be reconciled and surely knit again. For like as sundry pieces which have been once artificially joined together by the means of glue or solder, if the joint be loose or open, may be rejoined or soldered again; but if an entire body that naturally is united and grown in one, chance to be broken or cut and slit asunder, it will be an hard piece of work to find any glue or solder so strong as to reunite the same and make it whole and sound, even so those mutual amities which either for profit or upon some need were first knit between men, happen to cleave and part in twain, it is an easy matter to reduce them close together; but brethren if they be once alienated and estranged, so as that the natural bond of love cannot hold them together, hardly will they piece again or agree ever after: and say they be made friends and brought to atonement, certainly such reconciliation maketh in the former rent or breach an ill-favoured and filthy scar, as being always full of jealousy, distrust, and suspicion.

True it is that all jars and enmities between man and man, entering into the heart, together with those passions which be most troublesome and dangerous of all others, to wit, a peevish humour of contention, choler, envy, and remembrance of injuries done and past, do breed grief, pain, and vexation; but surely that which is fallen between brother and brother, who of necessity are to communicate together in all sacrifices and religious ceremonies belonging to their father's house, who are to be interred another day in one and the same sepulchre, and live in the meantime otherwhiles under one roof, and dwell in the same house, and enjoy possessions, lands, and tenements confining one upon another, doth continually present unto the eye that which tormenteth the heart, it putteth them in mind daily and hourly of their folly and madness; for by means thereof that face and countenance which should be most sweet, best known, and of all other likest, is become most strange, hideous and unpleasant to the eye; that voice which was wont to be even from the cradle friendly and familiar, is now become most fearful and terrible to the ear; and whereas they see many other brethren cohabit together in one house, sit at one table to take their repast, occupy the same lands, and use the

same servants, without dividing them; what a grief is it that they, thus fallen out, should part their friends, their hosts and guests, and in one word, make all things that be common among other brethren, private, and whatsoever should be familiar and acceptable, to become contrary and odious? Over and besides, here is another inconvenience and mischief which there is no man so simple but he must needs conceive and understand: That ordinary friends and table companions may be gotten and stolen (as it were) from others; alliance and acquaintance there may be had new, if the former be lost, even as armour, weapons and tools may be repaired if they be worn, or new made if the first be gone; but to recover a brother that is lost, it is not possible, no more than to make a new hand, if one be cut away, or to set in another eye in the place of that which is plucked out of the head: and therefore well said that Persian lady, when she chose rather to save the life of her brethren than of her children: For children (quoth she) I may have more, but since my father and mother be both dead, brother shall I never have.

But what is to be done, will some man say, in case one be matched with a bad brother? First, this we ought evermore to remember, that in all sorts of amities there is to be found some badness; and most true is that saying of Sophocles:

> Who list to search throughout mankind,
> More bad than good is sure to find.

No kindred there is, no society, no fellowship, no amity and love, that can be found sincere, sound, pure, and clear from all faults. The Lacedæmonian who had married a wife of little stature: We must (quoth he) of evils chuse ever the least; even so in mine advice a man may very well and wisely give counsel unto brethren, to bear rather with the most domestical imperfections and the infirmities of their own blood, than to try those of strangers; for as the one is blameless because it is necessary, so the other is blameworthy, for that it is voluntary: for neither table-friend and fellow-gamester, nor play-fere of the same age, nor yet host or guest,

> Is bound with links (of brass by hand not wrought)
> Which shame by kind hath forg'd, and cost us nought,

but rather that friend who is of the same blood, who had his nourishment and bringing up with us, begotten of one father, and who lay in the same mother's womb; unto whom it seemeth that Virtue[1] herself doth allow connivancy and pardon of some

[1] *i.e.*, Minerva, *Odyssey*, v. 331.

faults, so as a man may say unto a brother when he doth a fault:

> Witless, stark naught, yea, wretched though thou be,
> Yet can I not forsake and cast off thee,

lest that (ere I be well aware) I might seem in my hatred towards thee for to punish sharply, cruelly and unnaturally in thy person some infirmity or vice of mine own father or mother instilled into thee by their seed. As for strangers and such as are not of our blood, we ought not to love first, and afterwards make trial and judgment of them; but first we must try and then trust and love them afterwards; whereas contrariwise, nature hath not given unto proof and experience the precedence and prerogative to go before love, neither doth she expect according to that common proverb; That a man should eat a bushel [1] or two of salt with one whom he minded to love and make his friend; but even from our nativity hath bred in us and with us the very principle and cause of amity, in which regard we ought not to be bitter unto such, nor to search too nearly into their faults and infirmities.

But what will you say now if contrariwise some there be, who if mere aliens and strangers otherwise, yet if they take a foolish love and liking unto them, either at the tavern or at some game and pastime, or fall acquainted with them at the wrestling or fencing school, can be content to wink at their faults, be ready to excuse and justify them, yea, and take delight and pleasure therein; but if their brethren do amiss, they be exceeding rigorous unto them and inexorable; nay, you shall have many such, who can abide to love churlish dogs and skittish horses, yea, and find in their hearts to feed and make much of fell ounces, shrewd cats, curst unhappy apes, and terrible lions; but they cannot endure the hasty and choleric humour, the error and ignorance, or some little ambitious humour of a brother. Others again there be who unto their concubines and harlots will not stick to assign over and pass away goodly houses and fair lands lying thereto; but with their brethren they will wrangle and go to law, nay, they will be ready to enter the lists and combat for a plot of ground whereupon a house standeth, about some corner of a messuage or end of a little tenement and afterwards attributing unto this their hatred of brethren the colourable name of hating sin and wickedness, they go up and down cursing, detesting, and reproaching them for their vices,

[1] *Medimnus* is a measure containing six *modii*, which is about six pecks with us.

whiles in others they are never offended nor discontented therewith, but are willing enough daily to frequent and haunt their company. Thus much in general terms by way of preamble or proem of this whole treatise.

It remaineth now that I should enter into the doctrine and instructions thereto belonging: wherein I will not begin as other have done at the partition of their heritage or patrimony; but at the naughty emulation, heart-burning and jealousy which ariseth between them during the life of their parents. Agesilaus, King of Lacedæmon, was wont always to send as a present unto each one of the ancients of the city, ever as they were created senators, a good ox, in testimony that he honoured their virtue: at length the lords, called *Ephori*, who were the censurers and overseers of each man's behaviour, condemned him for this in a fine to be paid unto the state, subscribing and adding a reason withal; for that by these gifts and largesses he went about to steal away their hearts and favours to himself alone, which ought indifferently to regard the whole body of the city; even so a man may do well to give this counsel unto a son, in such wise to respect and honour his father and mother, that he seek not thereby to gain their whole love, nor seem to turn away their favour and affection from other children wholly unto himself; by which practice many do prevent, undermine, and supplant their brethren, and thus under a colourable and honest pretence in shew, but in deed unjust and unequal, cloak and cover their avarice and covetous desire; for after a cautelous and subtle manner they insinuate themselves and get between them and home, and so defraud and cozen them ungentlemanly of their parents' love, which is the greatest and fairest portion of their inheritance, who espying their time, and taking the opportunity and vantage when their brethren be otherwise employed, and least doubt of their practices, then they bestir them most, and shew themselves in best order, obsequious, double-diligent, sober and modest, and namely in such things as their other brethren do either fail or seem to be slack and forgetful. But brethren ought to do clean contrary, for if they perceive their father to be angry and displeased with one of them, they should interpose themselves and undergo some part of the heavy load, they ought to ease their brother, and by bearing a part, help to make the burden lighter: then (I say) must they by their service and ministry gratify their brother so much as to bring him in some sort in grace and favour again with their father, and when he hath failed so far forth in neglecting the opportunity of time,

or omitting some other business which hardly will afford excuse, they are to lay the fault and blame upon his very nature and disposition, as being more meet and fitted for other matters. And hereto accordeth well that speech of Agamemnon in Homer:

> He faulted not through idleness,
> Nor yet for want of wit,
> But look'd on me, and did expect
> My motive unto it.

Even so one good brother may excuse another and say: He thought I should have done it, and left this duty for me to do: neither are fathers themselves strait-laced, but willingly enough to admit such translations and gentle inversions of names as these; they can be content to believe their children, when they term the supine negligence of their brethren plain simplicity, their stupidity and blockishness, upright dealing and a good conscience; their quarrelous and litigious nature, a mind loth to be trodden under foot and utterly despised.

In this manner he that will proceed with an intent only to appease his father's wrath shall gain thus much moreover; That not only his father's choler will thereby be much diminished toward his brother, but his love also much more increased unto himself: howbeit, afterwards when he hath thus made all well, and satisfied his father to his good contentment, then must he turn and address himself to his brother apart, touch him to the quick, spare him never a whit, but with all liberty of language tell him roundly of his fault and rebuke him for his trespass; for surely it is not good to use indulgency and connivancy to a brother, no more than to insult over him too much, and tread him under foot if he have done amiss, for as this bewrayeth a joy that one taketh at his fall, so that implieth a guiltiness with him in the same transgression: but in this rebuke and reproof such measure would be kept that it may testify a care to do him good, and yet a displeasure for his fault; for commonly he that hath been a most earnest advocate and affectionate intercessor for him to his father and mother, will be his sharpest accuser afterwards when he hath him alone by himself. But put the case, that a brother having not at all offended, be blamed notwithstanding and accused to father and mother, howsoever in other things it is the part of humanity and dutiful kindness to sustain and bear all anger and froward displeasure of parents; yet in this case the allegations and defences of one brother in the justification of another, when he is innocent, unjustly traduced, and hardly used or wronged by his parents, are not to be blamed,

but allowable and grounded upon honesty: neither need a brother fear to hear that reproach in Sophocles:

> Thou graceless imp, so far grown out of kind,
> As with thy sire a counter plea to find,

when frankly and freely he speaketh in the behalf of his brother, seeming to be unjustly condemned and oppressed. For surely by this manner of process and pleading, they that are convicted take more joy in being overthrown than if they had gained the victory and better hand.

Now after that a father is deceased, it is well beseeming and fit that brethren should more affectionately love than before, and stick more close together: for then presently their natural love unto their father which is common to them all ought to appear indifferently in mourning together and lamenting for his death: then are they to reject and cast behind them all suspicions surmised or buzzed into their heads by varlets and servants, all slanderous calumniations and false reports, brought unto them by pick-thanks and carry-tales on both sides, who would gladly sow some dissension between them: then are they to give ear unto that which fables do report of the reciprocal love of Castor and Pollux; and namely, how it is said, that Pollux killed one with his fist for rounding him in the ear, and whispering a tale against his brother Castor. Afterwards, when they shall come to the parting of their patrimony and father's goods among them, they ought not (as it were) to give defiance and denounce war one against another, as many there be who come prepared for that purpose ready to encounter, singing this note:

> O Alal' Alala, now hearken and come fight,
> Who art of war so fell, the daughter right.

But that very day of all others they ought to regard and observe most, as being the time which to them is the beginning either of mortal war and enmity irreconcileable, or else of perfect friendship and amity perdurable: at which instant they ought among themselves alone to divide their portions, if it be possible; if not, then to do it in the presence of one indifferent and common friend between them, who may be a witness to their whole order and proceeding; and so, when after a loving and kind manner, and as becometh honest and well-disposed persons, they have by casting lots gotten each one that which is his right: by which course (as Plato said) they ought to think that there is given and received that which is meet and agreeable for every

one, and so to hold themselves therewith contented: this done, I say they are to make account that the ordering, managing, and administration only of the goods and heritage is parted and divided; but the enjoying, use, and possession of all remaineth yet whole in common between them. But those that in this partition and distribution of goods pluck one from another the nurses that gave them suck, or such youths as were fostered and brought up together with them of infants, and with whom always they had lived and loved familiarly; well may they prevail so far forth with eager pursuing their wilfulness, as to go away with the gain of a slave, perhaps of greater price: but instead thereof they lose the greatest and most precious things in all their patrimony and inheritance, and utterly betray the love of a brother, and the confidence that otherwise they might have had in him. Some also we have known, who upon a peevish wilfulness only, and a quarrelous humour, and without any gain at all, have in the partition of their father's goods carried themselves no better nor with greater modesty and respect, than if it had been some booty or pillage gotten in war. Such were Charicles and Antiochus, of the city Opus, two brethren, who ever as they met with a piece of silver plate, made no more ado but cut it quite through the midst, and if there came a garment into their hands, in two pieces it went, slit (as near as they could aim) just in the middle, and so they went either of them away with his part, dividing (as it were) upon some tragical curse and execration

> Their house and all the goods therein
> By edge of sword so sharp and keen.

Others there be who make their boast and report with joy unto others, how in the partition of their patrimony they have by cunning casts coney-catched their brethren, and over-wrought them so by their cautelous circumvention, fine wit and sly policies, as that they have gone away with the better part by odds: whereas indeed they should rejoice rather and please themselves, if in modesty, courtesy, kindness, and yielding of their own right they had surpassed and gone beyond their brethren. In which regard Athenodorus deserveth to be remembered in this place; and indeed there is not one here in these parts but remembereth him well enough. This Athenodorus had one brother elder than himself, named Zenon, who having taken upon him the management of the patrimony left unto them both by their father, had embezzled and made away a

good part of it; and in the end, for that by force he had carried away a woman and married her, was condemned for a rape, and lost all his own and his brother's goods, which by order of law was forfeit and confiscate to the exchequer of the emperor: now was Athenodorus abovesaid a very beardless boy still, without any hair on his face; and when by equity and the court of conscience, his portion out of his father's goods was awarded and restored unto him, he forsook not his brother, but brought all abroad and parted the one half thereof with him again; and notwithstanding that he knew well enough that his brother had used no fair play, but cunningly defrauded him of much in the division thereof, yet was he never angry with him nor repented of his kindness, but mildly, cheerfully, and patiently endured that unthankfulness and folly of his brother, so much divulged and talked of throughout all Greece.

As for Solon, when he pronounced sentence and determined in this manner as touching the government of the weal-public; That equality never bred sedition; seemed very confusedly to bring in the proportion arithmetical which is popular, in place of that other fair and good proportion called geometrical. But he that in an house or family would advise brethren (as Plato did the citizens of his commonwealth), above all, if possible it were to take away these words, *mine* and *thine ; mine* and not *mine ;* or at leastwise (if that may not be) to stand contented with an equal portion, and to maintain and preserve equality; certes, he should lay a notable and singular foundation of amity, concord and peace, and always build thereupon the famous examples of most noble and renowned personages, such as Pittachus was, who when the King of Lydia demanded of him whether he had money and goods enough? I may have (quoth he) more by one half if I would, by occasion of my brother's death, whose heir I am.

But forasmuch as not only in the possession, augmentation and diminishing of goods, the less is evermore set as an adverse and cross enemy to the more, but also (as Plato said) simply and universally there is always motion and stirring in unequality, but rest and repose in equality; and so all uneven dealing and unequal partition is dangerous for breeding dissension among brethren: and unpossible it is that in all respects they should be even and equal; for that either nature at first from their very nativity, or fortune afterwards, hath not divided with even hand their several graces and favours among them, whereupon proceed envy and jealousy, which are per-

nicious maladies and deadly plagues, as well to houses and families as also to states and cities: in these regards (I say), therefore, a great regard and heed would be taken, both to prevent and also to remedy such mischiefs with all speed, when they begin first to ingender.

As for him who is indued with better gifts, and hath the vantage over his other brethren, it were not amiss to give him counsel, first to communicate unto them those gifts wherein he seemeth to excel and go beyond them; namely, in gracing and honouring them as well as himself by his credit and reputation, in advancing them by the means of his great friends, and drawing them unto their acquaintance; and in case he be more eloquent than they, to offer them the use thereof, which although it be employed (as it were) in common, is yet nevertheless his own still: then let him not shew any sign of pride and arrogancy, as though he disdained them, but rather in some measure by abasing, submitting and yielding a little to them in his behaviour, to preserve himself from envy, unto which his excellent parts do lie open; and in one word, to reduce that inequality which fortune hath made, unto some equality, as far forth as possible it is to do, by the moderate carriage of his mind. Lucullus verily would never deign to accept of any dignity or place of rule before his brother, notwithstanding he was his elder, but letting his own time slip, expected the turn and course of his brother. Neither would Pollux take upon him to be a god alone by himself, but chose rather with his brother Castor to be a demi-god, and for to communicate unto him his own immortality, thought it no disgrace to participate with his mortal condition; and even so may a man say unto one whom he would admonish: My good friend, it lies in you without diminishing one whit of those good things which you have at this present, to make your brother equal unto yourself, and to join him in honour with you, giving him leave to enjoy (as it were) your greatness, your glory, your virtue, and your fortune; like as Plato did in times past, who by putting down in writing the name of his brethren, and bringing them in as persons speaking in his most noble and excellent treatises, caused them by that means to be famous and renowned in the world. Thus he graced Glaucus and Adamantus in his books of policy: thus he honoured Antiphon, the youngest of them all, in his dialogue named *Parmenides*.

Moreover, as it is an ordinary thing to observe great difference and odds in the natures and fortunes of brethren; so it is in

manner impossible, that in all things and in every respect any one of them should excel the rest. For true it is, that the four elements, which they say were created of one and the same matter, have powers and qualities altogether contrary; but surely it was never yet seen that of two brethren by one father and mother, the one should be like unto that wise man whom the Stoics do feign and imagine, to wit, fair, lovely, bountiful, honourable, rich, eloquent, studious, civil, and courteous; and the other, foul, ill-favoured, contemptible, illiberal, needy, not able to speak and deliver his mind, untaught, ignorant, uncivil and unsociable. But even in those that are more obscure, base, and abject than others there is after a sort some spark of grace, of valour, of aptness and inclination to one good thing or other: for as the common proverb goeth:

> With calthrap thistles, rough and keen, with prickyrest-harow,
> Close Sions fair and soft, yea, white-wallflowers are seen to grow.

These good parts, therefore, be they more or less in others, if he that seemeth to have them in far better and in greater measure, do not debase, smother, hide, and hinder them, nor deject his brother (as in some solemnity of games for the prize) from all the principal honours, but rather yield reciprocally unto him in some points, and acknowledge openly that in many things he is more excellent, and hath a greater dexterity than himself, withdrawing always closely all occasions and matter of envy, as it were fuel from the fire, shall either quench all debate, or rather not suffer it at all to breed or grow to any head and substance.

Now he that always taketh his brother as a colleague, counsellor, and coadjutor with him, in those causes wherein himself is taken to be his superior: as, for example, if he be a professed rhetorician and orator, using his brother to plead causes; if he be a politician, asking his advice in government; if a man greatly friended, employing him in actions and affairs abroad; and in one word, in no matter of consequence and which may win credit and reputation, leaving not his brother out, but making him his fellow and companion in all great and honourable occasions, and so giving out of him, taking his counsel if he be present, and expecting his presence if he be absent, and generally making it known that he is a man not of less execution than himself, but one rather that loveth not much to put himself forth, nor stands so much upon winning reputation in the world, and seeking to be advanced in credit; by this means he shall lose nothing of his own, but gain much unto his

brother. These be the precepts and advertisements that a man may give unto him that is the better and superior.

To come now to him who is the inferior, he ought thus to think in his mind: That his brother is not one alone that hath no fellow, nor the only man in the world who is richer, better learned, or more renowned and glorious than himself, but that oftentimes he also is inferior to a great number, yea, and to many millions of us men,

> Who on the earth so large do breed,
> Upon her fruits who live and feed.

but if he be such an one as either goeth up and down, bearing envy unto all the world; or if he be of so ill a nature, as that among so many men that are fortunate, he alone and none but he troubleth him, who ought of all other to be dearest and is most nearly joined unto him by the obligation of blood, a man may well say of him; That he is unhappy in the highest degree, and hath not left unto another man living any means to go beyond him in wretchedness. As Metellus therefore thought that the Romans were bound to render thanks unto the gods in heaven, for that Scipio, so noble and brave a man, was born in Rome and not in any other city; so every man is to wish and pray unto the gods, that himself may surmount all other men in prosperity, if not, yet that he might have a brother at leastwise to attain unto that power and authority so much desired; but some there be so unfortunate and unlucky by nature, in respect of any goodness in them, that they can rejoice and take a great glory in this, to have their friends advanced unto high places of honour, or to see their hosts and guests abroad, princes, rulers, rich and mighty men, but the resplendent glory of their brethren they think doth eclipse and darken their own renown; they delight and joy to hear the fortunate exploits of their fathers recounted, or how their great grandsires long ago had the conduct of armies, and were lord prætors and generals in the field, wherein they themselves had never any part, nor received thereby either honour or profit; but if there have fallen unto their brethren any great heritages or possessions, if they have risen unto high estate and achieved honourable dignities, if they are advanced by rich and noble marriages, then they are cast down and their hearts be done. And yet it had behoved and right meet it were in the first place, to be envious to no man at all; but if that may not be, the next way were to turn their envy outward, and eye-bite strangers, and to shew our spite unto

aliens who are abroad, after the manner of those who to rid themselves from civil seditions at home, turn the same upon their enemies without, and set them together by the ears, and like as Diomedes in Homer said unto Glaucus:

> Of Trojans and their allies both,
> Who aid them for goodwill
> Right many are beside yourself
> For me in fight to kill:
> And you likewise have Greeks enough
> With whom in bloody field
> You may your prowess try, and not
> Meet me with spear and shield.

Even so it may be said unto them; There be a number besides of concurrents upon whom they may exercise their envy and jealousy, and not with their natural brethren; for a brother ought not to be like unto one of the balance scales, which doth always contrary unto his fellow, for as one riseth the other falleth; but as small numbers do multiply the greater and serve to make both them bigger, and their selves too; even so, an inferior brother by multiplying the state of his brother who is his superior, shall both augment him and also increase and grow himself together with him in all good things: mark the fingers of your hand, that which holdeth not the pen in writing, or striketh the string of a lute in playing (for that it is not able so to do, nor disposed and made naturally for those uses), is never a whit the worse for all that, nor serveth less otherwise, but they all stir and move together, yea and in some sort they help one another in their actions, as being framed for the nonce, unequal and one bigger and longer than other, that by their opposition and meeting as it were round together, they might comprehend, clasp, and hold anything most sure, strong, and fast. Thus Craterus, being the natural brother of King Antigonus, who reigned and swayed the sceptre: Thus Perilaus also, the brother of Cassander, who ware the crown, gave their minds to be brave warriors and to lead armies under their brethren, or else applied themselves to govern their houses at home in their absence; whereas on the contrary side, the Antiochi and Seleuci, as also certain Grypi and Cyziceni and such others, having not learned to bear a lower sail than their brethren, and who could not content themselves to sing a lower note, nor to rest in a second place, but aspiring to the ensigns and ornaments of royal dignity, to wit, the purple mantle of estate with crown, diadem, and sceptre, filled themselves and one another with many calamities, yea and heaped as many troubles upon all Asia throughout.

Now forasmuch as those especially who by nature are ambitious and disposed to thirst after glory, be for the most part envious and jealous toward those who are more honoured and renowned than they; it were very expedient for brethren if they would avoid this inconvenience, not to seek for to attain either honour or authority and credit all by the same means, but some by one thing and some by another: for we see by daily experience, it is an ordinary matter that wild beasts do fight and war one with another, namely, when they feed in one and the same pasture; and among champions and such as strive for the mastery in feats of activity, we count those for their adversaries and concurrents only who profess and practise the same kind of game or exercise; for those that go to it with fists and buffets are commonly friends good enough to such sword-fencers as fight at sharp to the utterance, and well-willers to the champions called Pancratiastæ: likewise the runners in a race agree full well with wrestlers: these, I say, are ready to aid, assist and favour one another, which is the reason that of the two sons of Tyndarus, Pollux won the prize always at buffets, but Castor, his brother, went away with the victory in the race. And Homer very well in his poem feigned that Teucer was an excellent archer, and became famous thereby, but his brother Ajax was best at close fight and hand-strokes, standing to it heavily armed at all pieces:

> And with his shield so bright and wide
> His brother Teucer he did hide.

And thus it is with them that govern a state and commonweal; those that be men of arms and manage martial affairs never lightly do envy them much who deal in civil causes and use to make speeches unto the people; likewise among those that profess rhetoric and eloquence, advocates who plead at bar, never fall out with those sophisters that read lectures of oratory; among professors of physic, they that cure by diet envy not the chirurgeons who work by hand; whereas they who endeavour and seek to win credit and estimation by the same art, or by their faculty and sufficiency in any one thing, do as much (especially if they be badly minded withal) as those rivals who, loving one mistress, would be better welcome and find more grace and favour at her hands one than another.

True it is, I must needs confess, that they who go divers ways do no good one to another; but surely such as choose sundry courses of life do not only avoid the occasions of envy,

but also by that means the rather have mutual help one by the other: thus Demosthenes and Chares sorted well together; Æschines likewise and Eubulus accorded; Hyperides also and Leosthenes were lovers and friends; in every which couple the former employed themselves in pleading and speaking before the people, and were writers and pen-men, whereas the other conducted armies, were warriors and men of action. Brethren therefore who cannot communicate in glory and credit together without envy, ought to set their desires and ambitious minds as far remote one from another, and turn them full as contrary as they can, if they would find comfort, and not receive displeasure by the prosperity and happy success one of another: but above all, a principal care and regard they must have of their kindred and alliance, yea, and otherwhiles of their very wives, and namely, when they be ready with their perilous speeches many times to blow more coals, and thereby enkindle their ambitious humour. Your brother (quoth one) doth wonders; he carrieth all before him; he beareth the sway; no talk there is but of him; he is admired, and every man maketh court to him: whereas there is no resort to you; no man cometh toward you; nothing is there in you that men regard or set by. When these suggestions shall be thus whispered, a brother that is wise and well minded may well say thus again: I have a brother indeed whose name is up and carrieth a great side; and verily the greater part of his credit and authority is mine and at my commandment. For Socrates was wont to say, that he would choose rather to have Darius his friend, than his darics.[1] And a brother who is of sound and good judgment will think that he hath no less benefit when his brother is placed in great estate of government, blessed with riches, or advanced to credit and reputation by his gift of eloquence, than if himself were a ruler, wealthy, learned, and eloquent. Thus you may see the best and readiest means that are to qualify and mitigate this unequality between brethren.

Now there be other disagreements besides, that grow quickly between, especially if they want good bringing up and are not well taught, and namely, in regard of their age. For commonly the elder, who think that by good right they ought to have the command, rule, and government of their younger brethren in everything, and who held it great reason that they should be honoured, and have power and authority always above them,

[1] An ancient piece of coin with his image, worth two shillings four pence, or a tetradrachm Attic.

commonly do use them hardly and are nothing kind and lightsome unto them: the younger again being stubborn, wilful and unruly, ready also to shake off the bridle, are wont to make no reckoning of their elder brethren's prerogative, but set them at naught and despise them; whereby it cometh to pass that as the younger of one side envied, are held down with envy, and kept under always by their elder brethren, and so shun their rebukes and scorn their admonitions; so these, on the other side, desirous to hold their own and maintain their pre-eminence and sovereignty over them, stand always in dread lest their younger brethren should grow too much, as if the rising of them were their fall. But like as the case standeth in a benefit or good turn that is done, men say it is meet that the receiver should esteem the thing greater than it is, and the giver make the least of it; even so, he that can persuade the elder, that the time whereby he hath the vantage of his other brethren is no great thing; and likewise the younger, that he should reckon the same birthright for no small matter, he shall do a good deed between them, in delivering the one from disdain, contempt, and suspicion, and the other from irreverence and negligence.

Now forasmuch as it is meet that the elder should take care and charge, teach, and instruct, admonish and reprove the younger; and as fit likewise the younger should honour, imitate, and follow the elder: I could wish that the solicitude and care of the elder savoured rather of a companion and fellow than of a father; that himself also would seem not so much to command as to persuade, and to be more prompt and ready to joy for his younger brother's well-doing, and to praise him for it, than in any wise take pleasure in reprehending and blaming him if haply he have forgotten his duty; and in one word, to do the one not only more willingly, but also with greater humanity than the other. Moreover, the zeal and emulation in the younger ought rather to be of the nature of an imitation, than either of jealousy or contention; for that imitation presupposeth an opinion of admiration, whereas jealousy and contention implieth envy, which is the reason that they affect and love those who endeavour to resemble and be like unto them; but contrariwise, they are offended at those and keep them down who strive to be their equals.

Now among many honours, which it beseemeth the younger to render unto his elder, obedience is that which deserveth most commendation, and worketh a more assured and hearty affection accompanied with a certain reverence, which causeth the elder

reciprocally and by way of requital to yield the like and to give place unto him. Thus Cato, having from his infancy honoured and reverenced his elder brother Cæpion, by all manner of obeisance and silence before him; in the end gained thus much by it, that when they were both men grown, he had so won him and filled him (as it were) with so great a respect and reverence of him, that he would neither say nor do ought without his privity and knowledge. For it is reported that when Cæpion had one day signed and sealed with his own signet a certain letter testimonial, Cato his brother coming afterwards would not set to his seal; which, when Cæpion understood, he called for the foresaid testimonial and pluckt away his own seal, before he had once demanded for what occasion his brother would not believe the deed, but suspected his testimony? It seemeth likewise that the brethren of Epicurus shewed great respect and reverence unto him, in regard of the love and careful goodwill that he bare unto them; which appeared in this, that as to all other things else of his, so to his philosophy especially, they were so wedded, as if they had been inspired therewith. For albeit they were seduced and deceived in their opinion, giving out and holding always (as they did) from their infancy, that never was any man so deep a clerk nor so great a philosopher as their brother Epicurus: yet it is wonderful to consider as well him that could so frame and dispose them, as themselves also for being so disposed and affectionate unto him. And verily, even among the more modern philosophers of later time, Apollonius the Peripatetic, had convinced him of untruth (whosoever he was) that said lordship and glory could like no fellowship, for he made his brother Sotion more famous and renowned than himself. For mine own part, to say somewhat of myself; albeit that fortune hath done me many favours, in regard whereof I am bound to render unto her much thanks; there is not any one for which I take myself so much obliged and beholden unto her, as for the love that my brother Timon hath always shewed and doth yet shew unto me; a thing that no man is able to deny who hath never so little been in our company, and you least of all others may doubt who have conversed so familiarly with us.

Now there be other occasions of trouble which ought to be taken heed of among those brethren which are of like age or somewhat near in years; small passions (I wot well) they be, but many they are, and those ordinary and continual; by means whereof they bring with them an evil custom of vexing,

fretting and angering one another ever and anon for small things, which in the end turn into hatred and enmity irreconcilable: for when they have begun to quarrel one with another at their games and pastimes, about the feeding and fighting of some little creatures that they keep, to wit, quails or cocks, and afterwards about the wrestling of their boys and pages at the school, or the hunting of their hounds in the chase, or the caparison of their horses; they can no more hold and refrain (when as they be men) their contentious vein and ambition in matters of more importance: thus the greatest and mightiest men among the Greeks in our time, banding at the first one against another in taking parts with their dancers, and then in siding with their minstrels, afterwards by comparing one with another who had the better ponds or bathing pools in the territory of Edepsus, who had the fairer galleries and walking-places, the statelier halls and places of pleasure, evermore changing and exchanging, and fighting (as it were) for the vantage of a place, striving still by way of odious comparison, cutting and diverting another way the conduct pipes of fountains, are become so much exasperate one against another, that in the meantime they are utterly undone; for the tyrant is come, and hath taken all from them; banished they are out of their own native country; they wander as poor vagabonds through the world, and I may be bold (well near) to say, they are so far changed from that they were afore, that they be others quite, this only excepted, that they be the same still in hatred one to another. Thus it appeareth evidently, that brethren ought not a little to resist the jealousy and contentions which breed among them upon small trifles, even in the very beginning, and that by accustoming themselves to yield and give place reciprocally one to another, suffering themselves to be overcome and take the foil, and joying rather to pleasure and content one another, than to win the better hand one of another: for the victory which in old time they called the Cadmian victory was nothing else but that victory between brethren about the city of Thebes, which is of all other the most wicked and mischievous.

What shall we say moreover? do not the affairs of this life minister many occasions of disagreement and debate even among those brethren which are most kind and loving of all other? yes, verily. But even therein also, we must be careful to let the said affairs to combat alone by themselves, and not to put thereto any passion of contention or anger, as an anchor or hook to catch hold of the parties, and pull them together for

to quarrel, and enter into debate; but as it were in a balance, to look jointly together, on whether side right and equity doth encline and bend, and so soon as ever we can, to put matters in question to the arbitrament and judgment of some good and indifferent persons, to purge and make clear all, before they are grown so far as that they have gotten a stain or tincture of cankered malice, which afterwards will never be washed or scoured out: which done, we are to imitate the Pythagoreans, who being neither joined in kindred or consanguinity, nor yet allied by affinity, but the scholars in one school, and the fellows of one and the same discipline, if peradventure at any time they were so far carried away with choler, that they fell to interchange reproachful and reviling taunts, yet before the sun was gone down they would shake hands, kiss, and embrace one another, be reconciled, and become good friends again. For like as if there be a fever, occasioned by a botch or rising in the share, there is no danger thereof, but if when the said botch is gone, the fever still continue, then it seemeth to be a malady proceeding from some more inward, secret, and deeper cause; even so the variance between two brethren, when it ceaseth together with the deciding of a business, we must think dependeth upon the same business and upon nothing else, but if the difference remain still when the controversy is ended, surely then it was but a colourable pretence thereof, and there was within some root of secret malice which caused it.

And here in this place it would serve our purpose very well to hear the manner of proceeding in the decision of a controversy between two brethren of a barbarous nation, and the same not for some little parcel of land, nor about poor slaves or silly sheep, but for no less than the kingdom of Persia: for after the death of Darius, some of the Persians would have had Ariamenes to succeed and wear the crown, as being the eldest son of the king late deceased; others again stood earnestly for Xerxes, as well for that he had to his mother Atossa, the daughter of that great Cyrus, as because he was begotten by Darius when he was a crowned king. Ariamenes then came down out of Media to claim his right; not in arms, as one that minded to make war, but simply and peaceably, attended only with his ordinary train and retinue, minding to enter upon the kingdom by justice and order of law. Xerxes in the meanwhile, and before his brother came, being present in place, ruled as king and exercised all those functions that appertained thereto: his brother was no sooner arrived but he took willingly the diadem or royal frontlet

from his head, and the princely chaplet or coronet which the Persian kings are wont to wear upright, he laid down, and went toward his brother to meet him upon the way, and with kind greeting embraced him: he sent also certain presents unto him, with commandment unto those that carried them to say thus: Xerxes thy brother honoureth thee now with these presents here, but if by the sentence and judgment of the peers and lords of Persia he shall be declared king, his will and pleasure is, that thou shalt be the second person in the realm and next unto him. Ariamenes answered the message in this wise: These presents I receive kindly from my brother, but I am persuaded that the kingdom of Persia by right belongeth unto me; as for my brethren, I will reserve that honour which is meet and due unto them next after myself, and Xerxes shall be the first and chief of them all. Now when the great day of judgment was at hand when this weighty matter should be determined, the Persians by one general and common consent declared Artabanus, the brother of Darius late departed, to be the umpire and competent judge for to decide and end this cause. Xerxes was unwilling to stand unto his award, being but one man, as who reposed more trust and confidence in the number of the princes and nobles of the realm; but his mother Atossa reproving him for it: Tell me (quoth she), my son, wherefore refusest thou Artabanus to be thy judge, who is your uncle, and besides, the best man of all the Persians? and why dost thou fear so much the issue of his judgment, considering that if thou miss, yet the second place is most honourable, namely, to be called the king's brother of Persia? Then Xerxes, persuaded by his mother, yielded; and after many allegations brought and pleaded on both sides judicially, Artabanus at length pronounced definitively that the kingdom of Persia appertained unto Xerxes: with that Ariamenes incontinently leapt from his seat, went and did homage unto his brother, and taking him by the right hand, enthronised and installed him king: from which time forward he was always the greatest person next unto his brother; and shewed himself so loving and affectionate unto him, that in his quarrel he fought most valiantly in the naval battle before Salaminas, where in his service and for his honour he lost his life. This example may serve for an original pattern of true benevolence and magnanimity, so pure and uncorrupt as it cannot in any one point be blamed or stained.

As for Antiochus, as a man may reprehend in him his ambitious mind and excessive desire of rule; so he may as well wonder

that considering his vain-glorious spirit, all brotherly love was not in him utterly extinct; for being himself the younger, he waged war with Seleucus for the crown, and kept his mother sure enough for to side with him and take his part: now it happened that during this war and when it was at the hottest, Seleucus struck a battle with the Galatians, lost the field, and was himself not to be found, but supposed certainly to have been slain and cut in pieces, together with his whole army, which by the barbarians were put to the sword and massacred; when news came unto Antiochus of this defeature, he laid away his purple robes, put on black, caused the court gates to be shut, and mourned heavily for his brother, as if he had been dead: but being afterwards advertised that he was alive, safe and sound, and that he went about to gather new forces and make head again, he came abroad, sacrificed with thanksgiving unto the gods, and commanded all those cities and states which were under his dominion to keep holiday, to sacrifice and wear chaplets of flowers upon their heads in token of public joy. The Athenians, when they had devised an absurd and ridiculous fable as touching the quarrel between Neptune and Minerva, intermeddled withal another invention, which soundeth to some reason, tending to the correction of the same, and as it were to make amends for that absurdity, for they suppress always the second of August, upon which day happened (by their saying) that debate aforesaid between Neptune and Minerva.

What should let and hinder us likewise, if it chance that we enter into any quarrel or debate with our allies and kinsfolk in blood, to condemn that day to perpetual oblivion, and to repute and reckon it among the cursed and dismal days; but in no wise by occasion of one such unhappy day to forget so many other good and joyful days wherein we have lived and been brought up together; for either it is for nothing and in vain that nature hath endued us with meekness and harmless long-sufferance, or patience the daughter of modesty and mediocrity, or else surely we ought to use these virtues and good gifts of her principally to our allies and kinsfolk; and verily to crave and receive pardon of them when we ourselves have offended and done amiss, declareth no less love and natural affection than to forgive them if they have trespassed against us. And therefore we ought not to neglect them if they be angry and displeased; nor to be strait-laced and stiffly stand against them when they come to justify or excuse themselves; but rather both when ourselves have faulted, oftentimes to prevent their

anger by excuse, making or asking forgiveness, and also by pardoning them before they come to excuse if we have been wronged by them.

And therefore Euclides, that great scholar of Socrates, is much renowned and famous in all schools of philosophy, for that when he heard his brother break out into these beastly and wicked words against him, The foul ill take me if I be not revenged and meet with thee; and a mischief come to me also (quoth he again) if I appease not thine anger, and persuade thee to love me as well as ever thou didst. But King Eumenes not in word but in deed and effect surpassed all others in meekness and patience: for Perseus, king of the Macedonians, being his mortal enemy, had secretly addressed an ambush and set certain men of purpose to murder him about Delphos, espying their time when they saw him going from the seaside to the said town for to consult with the oracle of Apollo: now when he was gone a little past the ambush they began to assail him from behind, tumbling down and throwing mighty stones upon his head and neck, wherewith he was so astonished that his sight failed, and he fell withal, in that manner as he was taken for dead: now the rumour hereof ran into all parts, insomuch as certain of his servitors and friends made speed to the city Pergamus, reporting the tidings of this occurrent, as if they had been present and seen all done; whereupon Attalus, the eldest brother next unto himself, an honest and kind-hearted man, one also who always had carried himself most faithfully and loyally unto Eumenes, was not only declared king, and crowned with the royal diadem; but that which more is, espoused and married Queen Stratonice, his said brother's wife, and lay with her. But afterwards, when counter-news came that Eumenes was alive and coming homeward again, Attalus laid aside his diadem, and taking a partisan or javelin in his hand (as his manner beforetime was), with other pensioners and squires of the body he went to meet his brother: King Eumenes received him right graciously, took him lovingly by the hand, embraced the queen with all honour, and of a princely and magnanimous spirit put up all; yea, and when he had lived a long time after without any complaint, suspicion, and jealousy at all, in the end at his death made over and assigned both the crown and the queen his wife unto his brother, the aforesaid Attalus: and what did Attalus now after his brother's decease? he would not foster and bring up (as heir apparent) so much as one child that he had by Stratonice his wife, although she bear unto him

many; but he nourished and carefully cherished the son of his brother departed, until he was come to full age, and then himself in his lifetime with his own hands set the imperial diadem and royal crown upon his head, and proclaimed him king. But Cambyses contrariwise, frighted upon a vain dream which he had, that his brother was come to usurp the kingdom of Asia, without expecting any proof or presumption thereof, put him to death for it; by occasion whereof, the succession in the empire went out of the race of Cyrus upon his decease, and was devolved upon the line of Darius, who reigned after him; a prince who knew how to communicate the government of his affairs and his regal authority, not only with his brethren, but also with his friends.

Moreover, this one point more is to be remembered and observed diligently in all variances and debates that are risen between brethren: namely, then especially, and more than at any time else, to converse and keep company with their friends; and on the other side to avoid their enemies and evil-willers, and not to be willing so much as to vouchsafe them any speech or entertainment. Following herein the fashion of the Candiots, who being oftentimes fallen out and in civil dissension among themselves, yea and warring hot one with another, no sooner hear news of foreign enemies coming against them, but they rank themselves, banding jointly together against them; and this combination is that which thereupon is called *syncretesmos*. For some there be that (like as water runneth always to the lower ground, and to places that chink or cleave asunder) are ready to side with those brethren or friends that be fallen out, and by their suggestions buzzed into their ears, ruinate and overthrow all acquaintance, kindred and amity, hating indeed both parties, but seeming to bear rather upon the weaker side, and to settle upon him who of imbecility soon yieldeth and giveth place. And verily those that be simple and harmless friends, such as commonly young folk are, apply themselves commonly to him that affecteth a brother, helping and increasing that love what he may; but the most malicious enemies are they who espying when one brother is angry or fallen out with another, seem to be angry and offended together with him for company; and these do most hurt of all others. Like as the hen therefore in Æsop answered unto the cat, making semblance as though he heard her say she was sick, and therefore in kindness and love asking how she did? I am well enough (quoth she), I thank you, so that you were farther off; even so,

unto such a man as is inquisitive and entereth into talk as touching the debate of brethren to sound and search into some secrets between them, one ought to answer thus: Surely there would be no quarrel between my brother and me if neither I nor he would give ear to carry-tales and pick-thanks between us.

But now it cometh to pass (I wot not how), that when our eyes be sore and in pain, we turn away our sight unto those bodies and colours which make no reverberation or repercussion back again upon it; but when we have some complaint and quarrel, or conceive anger or suspicion against our brethren, we take pleasure to hear those that make all worse, and are apt enough to take any colour and infection, presented to us by them, where it were more needful and expedient at such a time to avoid their enemies and evil-willers, and to keep ourselves out of the way from them; and contrariwise to converse with their allies, familiars, and friends; and with them to bear company especially, yea, and to enter into their own houses for to complain and blame them before their very wives, frankly and with liberty of speech. And yet it is a common saying, That brethren when they walk together should not so much as let a stone to be betwixt them; nay, they are discontented and displeased in mind, in case a dog chance to run overthwart them; and a number of such other things they fear, whereof there is not one able to make any breach or division between brethren; but in the meanwhile they perceive not how they receive into the midst of them, and suffer to traverse and cross them, men of a currish and dogged nature, who can do nothing else but bark between, and sow false rumours and calumniations between one and another, for to provoke them to jar and fall together by the ears: and therefore to great reason and very well to this purpose said Theophrastus; That if all things (according to the old proverb) should be common among friends, then most of all they ought to entertain friends in common; for private familiarities and acquaintances apart one from another are great means to disjoin and turn away their hearts; for if they fall to love others, and make choice of other familiar friends, it must needs follow by consequence to take pleasure and delight in other companies, to esteem and affect others, yea, and to suffer themselves to be ruled and led by others. For friendships and amities frame the natures and dispositions of men; neither is there a more certain and assured sign of different humours and divers natures than the choice and election of different friends, in such sort as neither to eat and drink, nor to play, nor

to pass and spend whole days together in good fellowship and company, is so effectual to hold and maintain the concord and goodwill of brethren, as to hate and love the same persons; to joy in the same acquaintance: and contrariwise to abhor and shun the same company; for when brethren have friends common between them, the said friends will never suffer any surmises, calumniations and quarrels to grow between; and say that peradventure there do arise some sudden heat of choler or grudging fit of complaint, presently it is cooled, quenched and suppressed by the mediation of common friends; for ready they will be to take up the quarrel and scatter it so as it shall vanish away to nothing if they be indifferently affectionate to them both, and that their love incline no more to the one side than to the other: for like as tin-solder doth knit and rejoin a crackt piece of brass, in touching and taking hold of both sides and edges of the broken pieces, for that it agreeth and sorteth as well to the one as to the other, and suffereth from them both alike; even so ought a friend to be fitted and suitable indifferently unto both brethren, if he would knit surely, and confirm strongly their mutual benevolence and goodwill. But such as are unequal and cannot intermeddle and go between the one as well as the other, make a separation and disjunction, and not a sound joint, like as certain notes or discords in music. And therefore it may well be doubted and question made whether Hesiodus did well or no when he said:

> Make not a feere I thee advise
> Thy brother's peer in any wise.

For a discreet and sober companion common to both (as I said) before, or rather incorporate (as it were) into them, shall ever be a sure knot to fasten brotherly love. But Hesiodus (as it should seem) meant and feared this in the ordinary and vulgar sort of men, who are many of them naught, by reason that so customably they be given to jealousy and suspicion, yea and to self-love, which if we consider and observe, it is well; but with this regard always, that although a man yield equal goodwill unto a friend as unto a brother, yet nevertheless in case of concurrence, he ought to reserve ever the pre-eminence and first place for his brother, whether it be in preferring him in any election of magistrates, or to the managing of state affairs; or in bidding and inviting him to a solemn feast, or public assembly to consult and debate of weighty causes; or in recommending him to princes and great lords. For in such

cases, which in the common opinion of the world are reputed matters of honour and credit, a man ought to render the dignity, honour, and reward which is beseeming and due to blood by the course of nature. For in these things the advantage and prerogative will not purchase so much glory and reputation to a friend, as the repulse and putting-by bring disgrace, discredit, and dishonour unto a brother.

Well, as touching this old said saw and sentence of Hesiodus, I have treated more at large elsewhere; but the sententious saying of Menander full wisely set down in these words:

> No man who loves another shall you see
> Well pleas'd, himself neglected for to be,

putteth us in mind and teacheth us to have good regard and care of our brethren, and not to presume so much upon the obligation of nature, as to despise them. For the horse is a beast by nature loving to a man, and the dog loves his master; but in case you never think upon them nor see unto them (as you ought), they will forego that kind affection, estrange themselves and take no knowledge of you. The body also is most nearly knit and united to the soul by the greatest bond of nature that can be; but in case it be neglected and contemned by her, or not cherished so tenderly as it looketh to be, unwilling shall you see it to help and assist her, nay, full untowardly will it execute, or rather give over it will altogether every action. Now to come more near and to particularise upon this point, honest and good is that care and diligence which is employed and shewed to thy brethren themselves alone; but better it would be far if thy love and kind affections be extended as far as to their wives' fathers and daughters' husbands, by carrying a friendly mind and ready will to pleasure them likewise, and to do for them in all their occasions; if they be courteous and affable in saluting their servants, such especially as they love and favour; thankful and beholding to their physicians who had them in cure during sickness and were diligent about them; acknowledging themselves bound unto their faithful and trusty friends, or to such as were willing and forward to take such part as they did in any long voyage and expedition, or to bear them company in warfare. And as for the wedded wife of a brother whom he is to reverence, repute and honour no less than a most sacred and holy relique or monument, if at any time he happen to see her, it will become him to speak all honour and good of her husband before her; or

to be offended and complain (as well as she) of her husband, if he set not that store by her as he ought, and when she is angered to appease and still her. Say also that she have done some light fault and offended her husband, to reconcile him again unto her and entreat him to be content and to pardon her; and likewise if there be some particular and private cause of difference between him and his brother, to acquaint the wife therewith, and by her means to complain thereof, that she may take up the matter by composition and end the quarrel.

Lives thy brother a bachelor and hath no children? thou oughtest in good earnest to be angry with him for it, to solicit him to marriage, yea with chiding, rating and by all means urge him to leave this single life, and by entering into wedlock to be linked in lawful alliance and affinity: hath he children? then you are to shew your goodwill and affection more manifestly, as well toward him as his wife, in honouring him more than ever before, in loving his children as if they were your own, yea, and shewing yourself more indulgent, kind, and affable unto them; that if it chance they do faults and shrewd turns (as little ones are wont), they run not away, nor retire into some blind and solitary corner for fear of father and mother, or by that means light into some light, unhappy, and ungracious company, but may have recourse and refuge unto their uncle, where they may be admonished lovingly, and find an intercessor to make their excuse and get their pardon. Thus Plato reclaimed his brother's son or nephew Speusippus from his loose life and dissolute riot, without doing any harm or giving him foul words, but by winning him with fair and gentle language (whereas his father and mother did nothing but rate and cry out upon him continually, which caused him to run away and keep out of their sight) he imprinted in his heart a great reverence of him, and a fervent zeal to imitate him, and to set his mind to the study of philosophy, notwithstanding many of his friends thought hardly of him and blamed him not a little, for that he took not another course with the untoward youth, namely, to rebuke, check, and chastise him sharply: but this was evermore his answer unto them: That he reproved and took him down sufficiently by shewing unto him by his own life and carriage what difference there was between vice and virtue, between things honest and dishonest.

Alenas, sometime king of Thessaly, was hardly used and overawed by his father, for that he was insolent, proud, and

violent withal; but contrariwise, his uncle by the father's side would give him entertainment, bear him out, and make much of him: Now when upon a time the Thessalians sent unto Delphos certain lots, to know by the oracle of god Apollo who should be their king? the foresaid uncle of Alenas unwitting to his brother put in one for him: Then Pythia the prophetess gave answer from Apollo and pronounced that Alenas should be king: The father of Alenas denied, and said that he had cast in no lot for him; and it seemed unto every man that there was some error in writing of those bills or names for the lottery: whereupon new messengers were dispatched to the oracle for to clear this doubt; and then Pythia, in confirmation of the former choice, answered:

> I mean that youth with reddish hair,
> Whom dame Archedice in womb did bear.

Thus Alenas, declared and elected king of Thessaly, by the oracle of Apollo, and by the means withal of his father's brother, both proved himself afterward a most noble prince, excelling all his progenitors and predecessors, and also raised the whole nation and his country a great name and mighty puissance.

Furthermore, it is seemly and convenient by joying and taking a glory in the advancement, prosperity, honours and dignities of brothers' children, to augment the same, and to encourage and animate them to virtue, and when they do well, to praise them to the full. Haply it might be thought an odious and unseemly thing for a man to commend much his own son, but surely to praise a brother's son is an honourable thing, and since it proceedeth not from the love of a man's self, it cannot be thought but right, honest, and (in truth) divine:[1] for surely methinks the very name itself (of uncle) is sufficient to draw brethren to affect and love dearly one another, and so consequently their nephews: and thus we ought to propose unto ourselves for to imitate the better sort and such as have been immortalised and deified in times past: for so Hercules, notwithstanding he had seventy sons within twain of his own, yet he loved Iolaus, his brother's son, no less than any of them; insomuch as even at this day in most places there is but one altar erected for him and his said nephew together, and men pray jointly unto Hercules and Iolaus. Also, when his brother Iphiclus was slain in that famous battle which was fought near

[1] *θεῖος* signifieth divine and an uncle.

Lacedæmon, he was so exceedingly displeased, and took such indignation thereat, that he departed out of Peloponnesus and left the whole country. As for Leucothea, when her sister was dead, she nourished and brought up her child, and together with her, ranged it among the heavenly saints: whereupon the Roman dames even at this day, when they celebrate the feast of Leucothea (whom they name Matuta) carry in their arms and cherish tenderly their sisters' children, and not their own.

OF INTEMPERATE SPEECH OR GARRULITY

THE SUMMARY

[THAT which is commonly said, *All extremities be naught*, requireth otherwhiles an exposition, and namely, in that virtue which we call temperance, one of the kinds or branches whereof consisteth in the right use of the tongue, which is as much to say, as the skill and knowledge how to speak as it becometh: now the moderation of speech hath for the two extremes, Silence (a thing more often praiseworthy than reproachable) and Babble; against which this discourse is addressed. Considering, then, that silence is an assured reward unto wise men, and opposite directly unto much prattling, and comely and seemly speech is in the midst, we call not silence a vice, but say, that a man never findeth harm by holding his peace. But as touching garrulity or intemperate speech, the author sheweth in the very beginning of his treatise that it is a malady incurable and against nature; for it doth frustrate the talkative person of his greatest desire, to wit, for to have audience and credit given him; also that it maketh a man inconsiderate, importune, and malapert, ridiculous, mocked and hated, plunging him ordinarily into danger, as many events have proved by experience. For to discover this matter the better, he saith consequently: That the nature of virtuous men and those who have noble bringing up, is directly opposite unto that of long-tongued persons; and joining the reasons by which a man ought not to bewray his secret, together with those evils and inconveniences which curiosity and much babble do bring, and confirming all by fine similitudes and notable examples: afterwards, taking in hand again his former speech and argument, he compareth a traitor and busy talker together, to the end that all men should so much the rather detest the vice of garrulity: then he proceedeth immediately to discover and apply the remedies of this mischief, willing us in the first place and generally to consider the calamities and miseries that much babbling causeth; as also the good and commodity which proceedeth of silence: which done he discourseth of those particular remedies, which import thus much in effect: That a man ought to frame and accustom himself, either to be silent, or else to speak last; to avoid all hastiness in making his answer; to say nothing, but that which is either needful or civil; to shun and forbear those discourses which please us most, and wherein we may be soon overseen and proceed too far; to find busy praters occupied apart from them; to provide them the company of men who are of authority and aged; In sum, to consider whether that which a man hath said, be convenient, meet, and profitable, and nevertheless to think always of this: That otherwhiles a man may repent of some words spoken, but never of keeping silence.]

A VERY hard and troublesome cure it is that philosophy hath undertaken, namely, to heal the disease of much prating; for that the medicine and remedy which she useth be words that must be received by hearing; and these great talkers will abide to hear no man, for that they have all the words themselves, and talk continually; so that the first mischief of those who cannot hold their tongue and keep silence is this; That they neither can nor will give ear to another; insomuch as it is a wilful kind of deafness in men, who seem thereby to control nature and complain of her, in that where she hath allowed them two ears, she hath given them but one tongue. If then Euripides said very well unto a foolish auditor of his:

> Pour I wise words, and counsel what I can
> With all my skill, into a sottish man,
> Unneth shall I be able him to fill,
> If hold and keep the same he never will,

a man may more truly and justly say unto (or rather of) a prating fellow:

> Pour I wise words, and counsel what I can
> With all my skill unto a sottish man,
> Unneth I shall be able him to fill,
> In case receive the same he never will.

And in truth, more properly it may be said: That one poureth good advertisements about such an one and beside him rather, than into him, so long as he either speaketh unto him that listeneth not, or giveth no ear unto them that speak: for if a prattling fellow chance to hear some short and little tale, such is the nature of this disease called garrulity, that his hearing is but a kind of taking his wind new, to babble it forth again immediately, much more than it was, or like a whirlpool which whatsoever it taketh once, the same it sendeth up again very often with the vantage.

Within the city Olympia there was a porch or gallery called Heptaphonos, for that from one voice by sundry reflections and reverberations it rendered seven echoes: but if some speech come to the ears of a babbler, and enter never so little in, by and by it resoundeth again on every side,

> And stirs the strings of secret heart within,
> Which should lie still, and not be mov'd therein,

insomuch, as a man may well say: That the conducts and passages of their hearing reach not to the brain where their soul and mind is seated, but only to their tongue: by reason whereof, whereas in others the words that be heard do rest in

their understanding, in prattlers they void away and run out presently, and afterwards they go up and down like empty vessels, void of sense and full of sound.

Well, as incurable as such seem to be, yet if it may be thought available to leave no experiment untried for to do such good, we may begin our cure, and say thus unto a busy prattler:

> Peace, my good son, for taciturnity
> Brings aye with it much good commodity.

But among the rest these be the two chief and principal, namely: to hear and to be heard; of which twain our importunate talkers can attain neither the one nor the other, so unhappy they are as to be frustrate of that which they so much desire. As for other passions and maladies of the soul, namely, avarice, ambition, love, and voluptuousness, they do all of them in some sort enjoy their desire; but the thing that troubleth and tormenteth these babbling fellows most is this: That seeking for audience so much as they do, and nothing more, they can never meet with it, but every man shunneth their company, and flieth away as fast as his legs will carry him; for whether men be set together in a knot, sadly talking in their round chairs, or walking in company, let them espy one of these prattlers coming toward them, away they go every one, that a man would say the retreat were sounded, so quickly they retire. And like as when in some assembly, if all be hushed on a sudden so as there is not a word, we use to say that Mercury is come among them; even so when a prating fool entereth into a place where friends are either set at the board to make merry, or otherwise met together in counsel, every man straightways is silent and holdeth his peace, as being unwilling to minister occasion unto him of talk; but if himself begin first to open his lips, up they rise all and are soon gone, as mariners suspecting and doubting by the whistling northern wind from the top of craggy rocks and promontories, some rough sea, and fearing to be stomach-sick, retire betimes into a bay for harbour: whereby it cometh to pass also, that neither at a supper can he meet with guests willing to eat and drink with him, nor yet companions to lodge with him, either in journey by land, or voyage by sea, unless it be by constraint. For so importunate he is always that one while he is ready to hang upon a man's cloak wheresoever he goes, another while he takes hold on the side of his beard, as if he knocked at the door with his hand to force him to speak; in which case well fare a good pair of legs, for they are worth

much money at such a time; as Archilochus was wont to say, yea, and Aristotle also, that wise philosopher: for when upon a time he was much troubled with one of these busy praters, who haunted and wearied him out of measure with cavilling tales and many foolish and absurd discourses, iterating eftsoons these words; And is not this a wonderful thing, Aristotle? No, iwis (quoth he again), but this were a wonder rather, if a man that hath feet of his own should stand still and abide to hear you thus prate. Unto another also of the same stamp, who after much prittle-prattle and a long discourse, said thus unto him: I doubt I have been tedious unto you, philosopher, with my many words; No, in good sooth (quoth Aristotle unto him), for I gave no ear at all unto you. For if otherwhiles men cannot shake such praters off, but must of necessity let their tongues walk, this benefit he hath by the soul, that she retireth inwardly all the while lending the outward ears only for them to beat upon, and dash as it were all about with their jangling bibble-babble; for she in the meantime is otherwise occupied, and discourseth to herself of divers matters within; by which means such fellows can meet with no hearers that take heed what they say, or believe their words. For as it is generally held, that the natural seed of such as are lecherous and much given to the company of women is unfruitful and of no force to engender; even so the talk of these great praters is vain, barren, and altogether fruitless. And yet there is no part or member of our body that nature hath so surely defended (as it were) with a strong rampart as the tongue: for before it she hath set a palisado of sharp teeth, to the end that if peradventure it will not obey reason, which within holdeth it hard as with a strait bridle, but it will blatter out and not tarry within, we might bite it until it bleed again, and so restrain the intemperance thereof. For Euripides said not that houses unbolted,

> But tongues and mouths unbridled if they be
> Shall find in th' end mishap and misery.

And those in my conceit who say that housen without doors, and purses without strings, serve their masters in no stead, and yet in the meantime neither set hatch nor lock unto their mouths, but suffer them run out and overflow continually, like unto the mouth of the sea Pontus, these, I say, in mine opinion seem to make no other account of words than of the basest thing in the world; whereby they are never believed (say what they will), and yet this is the proper end and scope that all speech

tendeth to, namely, to win credit with the hearers; and no man will ever believe these great talkers, no not when they speak the truth. For like as wheat, if it be enclosed within some dank or moist vessel, doth swell and yield more in measure, but for use is found to be worse; even so it is with the talk of a prattling person; well may he multiply and augment it with lying, but by that means it leeseth all the force of persuasion. Moreover, what modest, civil, and honest man is there who would not very carefully take heed of drunkenness? for anger (as some say) may well be ranged with rage and madness; and drunkenness doth lodge and dwell with her, or rather is madness itself,[1] only in circumstance of time it may be counted less, for that it continueth less while, but surely in regard of the cause it is greater, for that it is voluntary, and we run wilfully into it, and without any constraint. Now there is no one thing for which drunkenness is so much blamed and accused as for intemperate speech and talk without end: for as the poet saith:

> Wine makes a man who is both wise and grave
> To sing and chant, to laugh full wantonly,
> It causeth him to dance, and eke to rave,
> And many things to do undecently;

for the greatest and worst matter that ensueth thereupon is not singing, laughing, and dancing; there is another inconvenience in comparison whereof all these are nothing, and that is:

> To blurt abroad, and those words to reveal,
> Which better were within for to conceal.

This is (I say) the mischief most dangerous of all the rest: and it may be that the poet covertly would assoil that question which the philosophers have propounded and disputed upon; namely, what difference there might be between liberal drinking of wine and stark drunkenness? in attributing unto the former mirth and jocundness extraordinary, and to the latter much babbling and foolish prattle: for according to the common proverb, that which is seated in the heart and thought of a sober person, lieth aloft in the mouth and tongue of a drunkard. And therefore wisely answered the philosopher Bias unto one of these jangling and prating companions: for when he seemed to mock him for sitting still, and saying nothing at a feast, insomuch as he gave him the lob and fool for it: And how is it possible (quoth he) that a fool should hold his peace at the table?

[1] *Ira furor brevis est.*

There was upon a time a citizen of Athens who feasted the ambassadors of the king of Persia, and for that he perceived that these great lords would take delight in the company of learned men and philosophers, upon a brave mind that he carried, invited they were all and met there together: now when all the rest began to discourse in general, and every man seemed to put in some vie for himself, and to hold and maintain one theme or other, Zeno, who sat among them, was only silent and spake not a word; whereupon the said ambassadors and strangers of Persia began to be merry with him and to drink unto him round, saying in the end: And what shall we report of you, Sir Zeno, unto the king our master? Marry (quoth he), no more but this, that there is an ancient man at Athens who can sit at the board and say nothing. Thus you see that silence argueth deep and profound wisdom; it implieth sobriety, and is a mystical secret and divine virtue; whereas drunkenness is talkative, full of words, void of sense and reason; and indeed thereupon multiplieth so many words, and is ever jangling. And in truth the philosophers themselves when they define drunkenness say: That it is a kind of raving and speaking idly at the table upon drinking too much wine; whereby it is evident that they do not simply condemn drinking, so that a man keep himself within the bounds of modesty and silence; but it is excessive and foolish talk, that of drinking wine maketh drunkenness. Thus the drunkard raveth and talketh idly when he is cup-shotten at the board; but the prattler and man of many words doth it always and in every place, in the market and common hall, at the theatre, in the public galleries and walking-places, by day and by night. If he be a physician and visit his patient, certes he is more grievous, and doth more hurt in his cure than the malady itself; if he be a passenger with others in a ship, all the company had rather be sea-sick than hear him prate; if he set to praise thee, thou wert better to be dispraised by another; and in a word, a man shall have more pleasure and delight to converse and commune with lewd persons so they be discreet in their speech, than with others that be busy talkers, though otherwise they be good honest men. True it is indeed that old Nestor, in a tragedy of Sophocles, speaking unto Ajax (who overshot himself in some hot and hasty words), for to appease and pacify him, saith thus after a mild and gracious manner:

> I blame not you, Sir Ajax, for your speech,
> Naught though it be, your deeds are nothing leech.

But surely we are not so well affected unto a vain-prating fellow;

for his importunate and unseasonable words mar all his good works, and make them to lose their grace. Lysias upon a time, at the request of one who had a cause to plead unto at the bar, penned an oration for his purpose and gave it him. The party after he had read and read it over again, came unto Lysias heavy and ill-apaid, saying; The first time that I perused your oration methought it was excellently well written, and I wondered at it; but when I took it a second and third time in hand, it seemed very simply indited and carried no forcible and effectual style with it: Why (quoth Lysias, and smiled withal), know you not that you are to pronounce it but once before the judges? and yet see and mark withal the persuasive eloquence and sweet grace that is in the writing of Lysias, for I may be bold to say and affirm of him, that

> The Muses with their broided violet hair,
> Grac'd him with favour much and beauty fair.

And among those singular commendations that are given out of any poet, most true it is that Homer is he alone of all that ever were who overcame all satiety of the reader; seeming evermore new and fresh, flourishing always in the prime of lovely grace, and appearing young still and amiable to win favour; howbeit in speaking and professing thus much of himself:

> It grieves me much for to rehearse again
> A tale that once delivered hath been plain,

he sheweth sufficiently that he avoideth what he can, and feareth that tedious satiety which followeth hard at heels, and layeth wait (as it were) unto all long trains of speech; in which regard he leadeth the reader and hearer of his poems from one discourse and narration to another, and evermore with novelties doth so refresh and recreate him, that he thinketh he hath never enough; whereas our long-tongued chatterers do after a sort wound and weary the ears of their hearers by their tautologies and vain repetitions of the same thing as they that soil and slourry writing-tables when they be fair scoured and cleansed: and therefore let us set this first and foremost before their eyes, that like as they who force men to drink wine out of measure and undelayed with water, are the cause that the good blessing which was given us to rejoice our hearts and make us pleasant and merry, driveth some into sadness, and others into drunkenness and violence; even so, they that beyond all reason and to no purpose use their speech (which is a thing otherwise counted the most delightsome and amiable means of conference

and society that men have together) cause it to be inhuman and unsociable, displeasing those whom they thought to please, making them to be mocked at their hands, of whom they looked to be well esteemed, and to have their evil will and displeasure, whose love and amity they made reckoning of. And even as he by good right may be esteemed uncourteous and altogether uncivil, who with the girdle and tissue of Venus, wherein are all sorts of kind and amiable allurements, should repel and drive from him as many as desire his company; so he that with his speech maketh others heavy and himself hateful, may well be held and reputed for a graceless man and of no bringing up in the world.

As for other passions and maladies of the mind, some are dangerous, others odious, and some again ridiculous and exposed to mockery; but garrulity is subject unto all these inconveniences at once. For such folk as are noted for their lavish tongue are a mere laughing-stock, and in every common and ordinary report of theirs, they minister occasion of laughter; hated they be for their relation of ill news, and in danger they are because they cannot conceal and keep close their own secrets: hereupon Anacharsis being invited one day and feasted by Solon, was reputed wise, for that being asleep he was found and seen holding his right hand to his mouth, and his left upon his privities and natural parts: for good reason he had to think that the tongue required and needed the stronger bridle and bit to restrain it: and in very truth it were a hard matter to reckon so many persons undone and overthrown by their intemperate and loose life, as there have been cities and mighty states ruinated and subverted utterly by the revealing and opening of some secrets.

It fortuned that whiles Sylla did inleaguer before the city of Athens, and had not leisure to stay there long and continue the siege, by reason of other affairs and troubles pressed him sore, for of one side King Mithridates invaded and harried Asia, and on the other side the faction of Marius gathered strength; and having gotten head, prevailed much within Rome: certain old fellows being met in a barber's shop within the city of Athens, who were blabs of their tongues, clattered it out in their talk together that a certain quarter of the city named Heptacalchon was not sufficiently guarded, and therefore the town in danger to be surprised by that part; which talk of theirs was overheard by certain spies, who advertised Sylla so much; whereupon immediately he brought all his forces to that side, and about

midnight gave an hot assault, made entry, and went within a very little of forcing the city and being master of it all, for he filled the whole street called Ceramicum with slaughter and dead carcases, insomuch as the channels ran down with blood. Now was he cruelly bent against the Athenians more for their hard language which they gave him than for any offence or injury otherwise that they did unto him, for they had flouted and mocked Sylla, together with his wife Metella; and for that purpose they would get upon the walls and say; Sylla is a sycamore or mulberry, bestrewed all over with dusty meal; besides many other such foolish jibes and taunts; and so for the lightest thing in the world (as Plato saith), to wit, words which are but wind, they brought upon their heads a most heavy and grievous penalty. The garrulity and over-much talk of one man was the only hindrance that the city of Rome was not set free and delivered from the tyranny of Nero. For there was but one night between the time that Nero should have been murthered on the morrow, and all things were ready and prepared for the purpose: but he who had undertaken the execution of that feat, as he went toward the theatre, espied one of those persons who were condemned to die, bound, and pinioned at the prison door, and ready to be led and brought before Nero; who hearing him to make piteous moan and lamenting his miserable fortune, steps to him and rounding him softly in the ear: Pray to God, poor man (quoth he), that this one day may pass over thy head, and that thou die not to-day, for to-morrow thou shalt con me thanks. The poor prisoner, taking hold presently of this enigmatical and dark speech, and thinking (as I suppose) that one bird in hand is better than two in bush, and according to the common saying, that

> A fool is he who leaving that
> Which ready is and sure,
> Doth follow after things that be
> Unready and unsure,

made choice of saving his life by the surer way, rather than by the juster means; for he discovered unto Nero that which the man had whispered secretly unto him: whereupon presently the party was apprehended and carried away to the place of torture, where by racking, scorching, and scourging, he was urged, miserable wretch, to confess and speak out that perforce which of himself he had revealed without any constraint at all. Zeno the philosopher, fearing that when his body was put to

dolorous and horrible torments, he should be forced even against his will to bewray and disclose some secret plot, bit off his tongue with his own teeth and spit it in the tyrant's face.

Notable is the example of Leæna, and the reward which she had for containing and ruling her tongue is singular. An harlot she was and very familiar with Harmodius and Aristogiton; by means of which inward acquaintance, privy she was and party as far forth as a woman might be to that conspiracy which they had complotted against the usurping tyrants of Athens, and the hopes that they builded upon (drunk she had out of that fair cup of love, and thereby vowed never to reveal the secrets of god Cupid). Now after that these two paramours and lovers of hers had failed of their enterprise and were put to death, she was called into question and put to torture, and therewith commanded to declare the rest of the complices in that conspiracy, who as yet were unknown and not brought to light: but so constant and resolute she was that she would not detect so much as one, but endured all pains and extremities whatsoever; whereby she shewed that those two young gentlemen had done nothing unfitting their persons and nobility in making choice to be enamoured of her. In regard of which rare secrecy of hers the Athenians caused a lioness to be made of brass without a tongue, and the same in memorial of her to be erected and set up at the very gate and entry of their citadel; giving posterity to understand by the generosity of that beast what an undaunted and invincible heart she had; and likewise of what taciturnity and trust in keeping secrets, by making it tongueless: and to say a truth, never any word spoken served to so good stead as many concealed and held in have profited. For why? A man may one time or other utter that which he once kept in; but being spoken, it cannot possibly be recalled and unsaid, for out it is gone already and spread abroad sundry ways. And hereupon it is (I suppose) that we have men to teach us for to speak, but we learn of the gods to hold our peace. For in sacrifices, religious mysteries, and ceremonies of divine service we receive by tradition a custom to keep silence. And even so, the poet Homer feigned Ulysses (whose eloquence otherwise was so sweet) to be of all men most silent and of fewest words; his son likewise, his wife and nurse, whom you may hear thus speaking:

> As soon shall stock of sturdy oak it tell,
> Or iron so strong as I will it reveal.

And Ulysses himself, sitting by Penelope before he would be known unto her who he was:

> Griev'd in his mind, and pitied to behold
> His wife by tears to shew what heart did feel,
> But all the while his eyes he stiff did hold,
> Which stirr'd no more than horn or sturdy steel;

so full was his tongue of patience, and his lips of continence. For why? reason had all the parts of his body so obeisant and ready at command, that it gave order to the eyes not to shed tears; to the tongue not to utter a word; to the heart not to pant or tremble, nor so much as to sob or sigh:

> Thus unto reason obeisant was his heart,
> Persuaded all to take in better part;

yea, his reason had gotten the mastery of those inward and secret motions which are void and incapable of reason, as having under her hand the very blood and vital spirits in all obeisance: his people also and train about him were for the most part of that disposition; for what wanted this of constancy and loyalty to their lord in the highest degree, to suffer themselves to be pulled and haled, to be tugged and tossed, yea and dashed against the hard ground under foot by the giant Cyclops, rather than to utter one word against Ulysses, or to bewray that log of wood which was burnt at the one end, and an instrument made ready for to put out his only eye that he had? nay, they endured rather to be eaten and devoured raw by him, than to disclose any of Ulysses his secrets. Pittacus therefore did not amiss, who when the King of Egypt had sent unto him a beast for sacrifice, and willed him withal to take out and lay apart the best and worst piece thereof, plucked out the tongue and sent it unto him, as being the organ of many good things, and no less instrument of the worst that be in the world. And Lady Ino, in Euripides, speaking freely of herself, saith that she knew the time

> When that she ought her tongue to hold,
> And when to speak she might be bold.

For certainly those who have had noble and princely bringing up indeed, learn first to keep silence, and afterwards how to speak. And therefore King Antigonus the Great, when his son upon a time asked him, When they should dislodge and break up the camp: What, son (quoth he), art thou alone afraid, that when the time comes thou shalt not hear the trumpet sound

the remove? Lo, how he would not trust him with a word of secrecy, unto whom he was to leave his kingdom in succession! teaching him thereby that he also another day should in such cases be wary and spare his speech. Old Metellus likewise, being asked such another secret as touching the army and setting forward of some expedition: If I wist (quoth he) that my shirt which is next my skin knew this my inward intent and secret purpose, I would put it off and fling it into the fire. King Eumenes, being advertised that Craterus was coming against him with his forces, kept it to himself, and would not acquaint any of his nearest friends therewith, but made semblance and gave it out (though untruly) that it was Neoptolemus who had the leading of that power; for him did his soldiers contemn and make no reckoning of, whereas the glory and renown of Craterus they had in admiration, and loved his virtue and valour: now when no man else but himself knew of Craterus his being in the field, they gave him battle, vanquished him, slew him before they were aware, neither took they knowledge of him before they found him dead on the ground.

See how by a stratagem of secrecy and silence the victory was achieved, only by concealing so hardy and terrible an enemy; insomuch as his very friends about him admired more his wisdom in keeping this secret from them, than complained of his diffidence and distrust of them. And say that a man should complain of thee in such a case, better it were yet to be challenged and blamed for distrusting, all the while thou remainest safe and obtain a victory by that means, than to be justly accused after an overthrow, for being so open and trusting so easily. Moreover, how darest thou confidently and boldly blame and reprove another for not keeping that secret which thou thyself hast revealed? for if it was behoveful and expedient that it should not be known, why hast thou told it to another? but in case when thou hast let fly a secret from thyself unto a man, thou wouldest have him to hold it in, and not blurt it out, surely it cannot be but thou hast better confidence in another than thyself: now if he be like thyself, who will pity thee if thou come by a mischief? is he better, and so by that means saveth thee harmless beyond all reason and ordinary course? then hast thou met with one more faithful to thee than thou art thyself: but haply thou wilt say: He is my very friend; so hath he another friend (be sure) whom he will do as much for, and disclose the same secret unto, and that friend (no doubt) hath another. Thus one word will get more still, it will grow and multiply by

a suit and sequence linked and hanging to an intemperate tongue: for like as unity, so long as she passeth not her bounds, but continueth and remaineth still in herself, is one and no more, in which respect she is called in Greek, *monas*, that is to say, alone; whereas the number of twain is the beginning of a diversity (as it were) and difference, and therefore indefinite; for straightways is unity passed forth of itself by doubling, and so turneth to a plurality; even so a word or speech all the while it abideth enclosed in him who first knew it, is truly and properly called a secret, but after it is once gotten forth and set a-going, so that it is come unto another, it beginneth to take the name of a common bruit and rumour: for as the poet very well saith; *Words have wings.* A bird, if she be let fly once out of our hands, it is much ado to catch again, and even so, when a word hath passed out of a man's mouth, hardly or unneth may we withhold or recover; for it flieth amain, it flappeth her light wings, fetching many a round compass, and spreadeth every way from one quarter to another: well may mariners stay a ship with cables and anchors, when the violence of the wind is ready to drive and carry her an end, or at leastwise they may moderate her swift and flight course; but if a word be issued out of the mouth, as out of her haven, and have gotten sea-room, there is no bay nor harbour to ride in, there is no casting of anchor will serve the turn, away she goes with a mighty noise and hurry, until in the end she runs upon some rock and is split, or else into a great and deep gulf, to the present danger of him who set her forth:

> For in small time, and with a little spark
> Of fire, a man may burn the forest tall
> Of Ida mount; ev'n so (who list to mark)
> All town will hear, a word to one let fall.

The senate of Rome upon a time sat in sad and serious counsel many days together, about a matter of great secrecy: now the thing being so much the more suspected and hearkened after, as it was less apparent and known abroad, a certain Roman dame, otherwise a good, sober and wise matron (howbeit a woman), importuned her husband and instantly besought him of all loves to tell her what this secret matter might be upon which they did sit so close in consultation? protesting with many an oath and execrable curse to keep silence and not to utter it to any creature in the world; you must think also, that she had tears at command, lamenting and complaining withal what an unhappy woman she was, in case her husband would

not trust her so much as with a word: the Roman senator her husband minding to try and reprove her folly: Thou hast overcome me, sweetheart (quoth he), and through thine importunity thou shalt hear of a strange and terrible occurrent that troubleth us all. So it is, that we are advertised by our priests that there hath been a lark of late seen flying in the air, with a golden cop or crest on her head in manner of an helmet, and withal bearing a javelin: hereupon we do confer and consult with our soothsayers and diviners, desirous to be certified out of their learning, whether this prodigious token portend good or hurt to the commonweal; but keep it to thyself (as thou lovest me), and tell it nobody. When he had thus said, he went forth toward the common hall and market-place: his wife incontinently had no sooner spied one of her waiting-maidens coming into the room, but she drew her apart, begun to beat and knock her own breast, to rend and tear the hair off her head, and therewith: Ah, woe's me (quoth she) for my poor husband, my sweet native country; alas and welladay, what shall we do, and what will become of us all? as if she taught her maid and were desirous that she should say thus unto her again: Why, what is the matter, mistress? Now when the maiden thereupon asked her, What news? she set tale an end and told all, marry, she forgat not the common and ordinary burden or clause, that all blabs of their tongue use to come in with: But in any case (quoth she) say nothing, but keep it to thyself. Scarce was she gone out of her mistress's sight, but seeing one of her fellows whom she found most at leisure and doing little or nothing, to her she imparted all. That wench again made no more ado, but to her lover she goes, who haply then was come to visit her, and telleth him as much. By this means the tale was bruited abroad, and passed roundly from one to another; insomuch as the rumour thereof was run into the market-place, and there went current before the first author and deviser thereof himself was gotten thither. For there meets with him one of his familiars and friends: How now (quoth he), are you come but now directly from your house to the market-place? No (quoth he again), I am but newly come: Why then belike (saith the other) you have heard no news? News (quoth he), what news should I hear? and what tidings can you tell me off? Why, man (answered he again), there hath been of late a lark seen flying with a golden cop or crest on her head, and carrying beside a javelin; and the consuls with other magistrates are ready to call a senate house for to sit upon this

strange occurrent. With that the senator beforesaid, turning aside and smiling, thus said to himself: Well done, wife, I con thee thank for thy quickness and celerity, thou hast quit thyself well indeed, that the word which erewhile I uttered unto thee is gotten before me into the market-place. Well, the first thing that he did was this: To the magistrates he went straightways, signified unto them the occasion of this speech, and freed them from all fear and trouble: but when he was come home to his own house he fell in hand to chastise his wife: How now, dame (quoth he), how is this come to pass? you have undone me for ever; for it is found and known for a truth, that this secret and matter of counsel which I imparted to you, is divulged and published abroad, and that out of my house: and thus your unbridled tongue is the cause that I must abandon and fly my country, and forthwith depart into exile. Now when at the first she would have denied the thing stoutly, and alleged for her excuse and defence, saying: Are not there three hundred senators besides yourself who heard it as well as you? No marvel then if it be known abroad. What, tell you me of three hundred (quoth he). Upon your importunate instance, I devised it of mine own head, in mirth, to try your silence, and whether you could keep counsel. Certes, this senator was a wise man and went safely and warily to work, who to make proof of his wife, whom he took to be no sounder nor surer than a cracked and rotten vessel, would not pour into it either wine or oil, but water only, to see if it would leak and run out.

But Fulvius, one of the favourites and minions of Augustus the emperor, when he was now well steeped in years, having heard him toward his latter days lamenting and bewailing the desolate estate of his house, in that he had no children of his own body begotten, and that of his three nephews or sisters' children two were dead, and Posthumius (who only remained alive), upon an imputation charged upon him, confined and living in banishment, whereupon he was enforced to bring in his wife's son, and declare him heir apparent to succeed him in the empire: notwithstanding upon a tender compassion he was otherwhiles in deliberation with himself, and minded to recall his foresaid sister's son from exile and the place whereunto he was confined. Fulvius (I say), being privy to these moans and designs of his, went home and told his wife all that he had heard. She could not hold, but goes to the Empress Livia, wife of Augustus, and reported what her husband Fulvius had told her. Whereupon Livia, taking great indignation, sharply

did contest and expostulate with Cæsar in these terms: That seeing it is so (quoth she) that you had so long before projected and determined such a thing as to call home again your nephew aforesaid; why sent you not for him at the first, but exposed me to hatred, enmity and war with him, who another day should wear the diadem and be emperor after your decease? Well, the next morning betimes, when Fulvius came, as his manner was, to salute Cæsar and give him good morrow, after he had said unto him χαῖρε, Καῖσαρ, that is, God save you, Cæsar; he resaluted him no otherwise but this, ὑγίαινε, Φούλβιε, that is, God make you wise, Fulvius. Fulvius soon found him and conceived presently what he meant thereby; whereupon he retired home to his house with all speed, and called for his wife; unto whom: Cæsar (quoth he) is come to the knowledge that I have not kept his counsel nor concealed his secrets; and therefore I am resolved to make myself away with mine own hands. And well worthy (quoth she), for justly you have deserved death, who having lived so long with me, knew not the incontinence of my tongue all this while, nor would take heed and beware of it; but yet suffer me first to die upon your sword; and with that, catching hold thereof, killed herself before her husband. And therefore Philippides, the comedian, did very wisely in his answer to King Lysimachus, who by way of all courtesy making much of him, and minding to do him honour, demanded of him thus: What wouldest thou have me to impart unto thee of all other treasure and riches that I have? What it shall please your majesty (quoth he), my gracious lord, so it be none of your secrets.

Moreover, there is adjoined ordinarily unto garrulity another vice no less than it; namely, busy intermeddling and curiosity, for men desire to hear and know much news, because they may report and blaze the same abroad, and especially if they be secrets. Thus go they up and down listening, inquiring, and searching if they can find and discover some close and hidden speeches, adding as it were some old surcharge of odious matters to their toys and fooleries; which maketh them afterwards to be like unto little boys, who neither can hold ice in their hands, nor yet will let it go; or to say more truly, they clasp and contain in their bosoms secret speeches, resembling serpents, which they are not able to hold and keep long, but are eaten and gnawed by them. It is said that certain fishes called the sea-needles, yea and the vipers, do cleave and burst when they bring forth their young; and even so, secrets when they be let

fall out of their mouths, who cannot contain them, undo and overthrow those that reveal them.

King Seleucus (him, I mean, who was surnamed Callinicus, that is, the victorious conqueror) in one battle against the Galatians was defeated, he and his whole power; whereupon he took from his head the diadem or royal band that he wear, and rode away on the spur on horseback with three or four in his company, wandering through desarts and byways unknown so long, until both horse and man were done and ready to faint for weariness: at length he came unto a country kearns or peasant's cottage; and finding (by good fortune) the good man of the house within, asked for bread and water; which the said peasant or cottier gave unto him; and not that only, but look, what the field would afford else besides he imparted unto him and his company with a willing heart and in great plenty, making them the best cheer that he could devise: in the end he knew the king's face, whereupon he took such joy, in that his hap was to entertain the king in his necessity, that he could not contain himself, nor second the king in dissembling his knowledge, who desired nothing more than to be unknown; when he had therefore brought the king onward on his way, and was to take his leave of him: Adieu (quoth he), King Seleucus: with that the king reached forth his hand, and drew him toward him, as if he would have kissed him, and withal beckoned to one of his followers, and gave him a secret token to take his sword and make the man shorter by the head.

> Thus whiles he spake (I wot not what) his head
> Off goes, and lies in dust when he was dead;

whereas, if he could have held his tongue a little while longer, and mastered himself, when the king afterwards had better fortune and recovered his greatness and puissance, he should in my conceit have gotten more thanks at his hands, and been better rewarded for keeping silence than for all the courtesy and hospitality that he shewed. And yet this fellow had in some sort a colourable excuse for this intemperate tongue of his, to wit, his own hopes and the goodwill that he bare unto the king: but the most part of these prattlers undo themselves without any cause or pretence at all of reason: like as it befell unto Denys the Tyrant's barber: for when (upon a time) there were some talking in his shop as touching his tyrannical government and estate, how assured it was, and as hard to be ruined or overthrown as it is to break the diamond: the said barber

laughing thereat: I marvel (quoth he) that you should say so of Denys, who is so often under my hands, and at whose throat in a manner every day I hold my razor: these words were soon carried to the tyrant Denys, who fair crucified this barber and hanged him for his foolish words. And to say a truth, all the sort of these barbers be commonly busy fellows with their tongue; and no marvel, for lightly the greatest praters and idlest persons in a country frequent the barber's shop, and sit in his chair, where they keep such chat, that it cannot be but by hearing them prate so customably, his tongue also must walk with them. And therefore King Archelaus answered very pleasantly unto a barber of his, that was a man of no few words, who when he had cast his linen cloth about his shoulders, said unto him: Sir, may it please your highness to tell me how I shall cut or shave you? Marry (quoth he), holding thy tongue and saying not a word. A barber it was who first reported in the city of Athens the news of that great discomfiture and overthrow which the Athenians received in Sicily; for keeping his shop (as he did) in that end of the suburbs called Pyræum, he had no sooner heard the said unlucky news of a certain slave who fled from thence out of the field when it was lost, but leaving shop and all at six and seven, ran directly into the city, and never rested to bring the said tidings, and whiles they were fresh and fire-new,

> For fear some else might all the honour win,
> And he too late, or second, should come in.

Now upon the broaching of these unwelcome tidings, a man may well think (and not without good cause) that there was a great stir within the city; insomuch, as the people assembled together into the market-place or common hall, and search was made for the author of this rumour: hereupon the said barber was haled and brought before the body of the people, and examined; who knew not so much as the name of the party of whom he heard this news; But well assured I am (quoth he) that one said so, marry, who it was or what his name might be I cannot tell. Thus it was taken for an headless tale, and the whole theatre or assembly was so moved to anger, that they cried out with one voice; Away with the villain, have the varlet to the rack, set the knave upon the wheel, he it is only that hath made all on his own fingers' ends, this hath he and none but he devised; for who else hath heard it, or who besides him hath believed it? Well, the wheel was brought, and upon it was the

barber stretched: meanwhile, and even as the poor wretch was hoisted thereupon, behold there arrived and came to the city those who brought certain news indeed of the said defeature, even they who made a shift to escape out of that infortunate field: then brake up the assembly, and every man departed and retired home to his own house, for to bewail his own private loss and calamity, leaving the silly barber lying along bound to the wheel, and racked out to the length, and there remained he until it was very late in the evening, at what time he was let loose; and no sooner was he at liberty but he must needs inquire news of the executioner, and namely; what they heard abroad of the general himself, Nicias, and in what sort he was slain? So inexpugnable and incorrigible a vice is this, gotten by custom of much talk, that a man cannot leave it, though he were going to the gallows, nor keep in those tidings which no man is willing to hear: for certes, like as they who have drunk bitter potions or unsavoury medicines, cannot away with the very cups wherein they were; even so, they that bring evil and heavy tidings, are ordinarily hated and detested of those unto whom they report the same. And therefore Sophocles the poet hath very finely distinguished upon this point in these verses:

MESSENGER. Is it your heart, or else your ear,
That this offends, which you do hear?
CREON. And why dost thou search my disease,
To know what grief doth me displease?
MESSENGER. His deeds (I see) offend your heart,
But my words cause your ears to smart.

Well then, those who tell us any woeful news be as odious as they who work our woe; and yet for all that, there is no restraint and bridling of an untemperate tongue that is given to talk and overreach. It fortuned one day at Lacedæmon, that the temple of Juno, called there Chalciæcos, was robbed, and within it was found a certain empty flagon or stone bottle for wine: great running there was and concourse of the people thither, and men could not tell what to make of that flagon: at last one of them that stood by; My masters (quoth he), if you will give me leave, I shall tell you what my conceit is of that flagon, for my mind gives me (saith he) that these church-robbers who projected to execute so perilous an enterprise, had first drunk the juice of hemlock before they entered into the action, and afterwards brought wine with them in this bottle, to the end that if they were not surprised nor taken in the manner, they might save their lives by drinking each of them a good draught

of mere wine; the nature and virtue whereof (as you know well enough) is to quench as it were and dissolve the vigour and strength of that poison, and so go their ways safe enough, but if it chance that they were taken in the deed doing, then they might by means of that hemlock which they had drunk die an easy death, and without any great pain and torment, before that they were put to torture by the magistrate. He had no sooner delivered this speech, but the whole company who heard his words, thought verily that such a contrived device and so deep a reach as this never came from one that suspected such a matter, but rather knew that it was so indeed; whereupon they flocked round about, and hemmed him in, and on every side each one had a saying unto him: And what art thou? quoth one. From whence art thou? saith another. Here comes one and asketh, who knew him? there sets upon him another, saying: And how comest thou by the light of all this that thou hast delivered? to be short, they handled the matter so well that they forced him to bewray himself in the end, and to confess that he was one of them that committed the sacrilege. Were not they also who murdered the poet Ibycus discovered and taken after the same manner? It happened that the said murderers were set at a theatre to behold the plays and pastimes which were exhibited; and seeing a flight of cranes over their heads, they whispered one to another: Lo, these be they that will revenge the death of Ibycus. Now had not Ibycus been a long time before seen, and much search was made after him, because he was out of the way and missed; whereupon they that sate next unto these men overhearing those words of theirs, and well noting the speech, went directly to the magistrates and justices to give intelligence and information of their words. Then were they attached and examined; and thus being convicted, suffered punishment in the end, not by the means of those cranes that they talked of, but surely by their own blab-tongues; as if some hellish fury had forced them to disclose that murder which they had committed. For like as in our bodies the members diseased and in pain draw humours continually unto them, and all the corruption of the parts near unto them flow thither; even so, the tongue of a babbling fellow, being never without an inflammation and a feverous pulse, draweth always and gathereth to it one secret and hidden thing or other. In which regard it ought to be well sensed with a rampart, and the bulwark of reason should evermore be set against it, which like unto a bar may stay and stop that over-

flowing and inconstant lubricity which it hath; that we be not more undiscreet and foolish beasts than geese are, who when they be to take a flight into Cilicia over the mountain Taurus, which is full of eagles, take up every one in their bill a good big stone, which serveth them instead of a lock or bridle to restrain their gaggling; by which device they may pass all night long without any noise, and not be heard at all or descried by the said eagles.

Now if one should demand and ask of me, what person of all others is most mischievous and dangerous? I believe very well there is no man would name any other but a traitor. And yet Euthycrates (as saith Demosthenes) by his treason covered his own house with a roof made of timber that he had out of Macedonia. Philocrates also lived richly and gallant of that great mass of gold and silver which he had of King Philip for betraying his country, and therewith furnished himself with brave harlots, gallant concubines and dainty fishes. Euphorbius also, and Philagrus, who betrayed Eretria, were endowed by the king with fair lands and possessions: but a prattler is a traitor voluntary and for nothing, he demandeth no hire at all, neither looketh he to be solicited, but offereth himself and his service; nor betrayeth unto the enemies either horses or walls, but revealeth hidden secrets, and discloseth speeches which are to be concealed, whether it be in judicial matters of law or in seditious discords, or in managing of state affairs, it makes no matter, and no man conneth him thanks; nay, he will think himself beholden to others, if they will vouchsafe to give him audience. And therefore, that which is commonly said to a prodigal person, who foolishly mis-spendeth and vainly wasteth his substance he cares not how, to gratify every man: Thou art not liberal; this is no courtesy; a vice it is rather that thou are disposed unto, thus to take pleasure in nothing, but giving and giving still. The same rebuke and reprehension serveth very fitly for a babbler: Thou art no friend nor well-willer of mine, thus to come and discover these things unto me; this is thy fault, and a disease which thou art sick of, that lovest to be clattering and hast no mind but of chatting.

Now would I have the reader to think that I write not all this, so much to accuse and blame the vice and malady of garrulity, as to cure and heal the same. For by judgment and exercise we surmount and overcome the vices and passions of the mind; but judgment, that is to say, knowledge, must go before: for no man accustometh himself to void, and (as it

were), to weed them out of the soul, unless he hate and detest them first. Now then, and never before, begin we to take an hatred to vices, when by the light of reason we consider and weigh the shame and loss that cometh unto us by them: as for example, we know and see that these great praters, whiles they desire to win love, gain hatred; thinking to do a pleasure, they displease; looking to be well esteemed, are mocked and derided; they lay for lucre, and get nothing; they hurt their friends, aid their enemies, and undo themselves.

So then, let this be the first receipt and medicine for to cure this malady; even the consideration and reckoning up of the shameful infamies and painful inconveniences that proceed and ensue thereof. The second remedy is, to take a survey of the contrary; that is to say, to hear always, to remember and have ready at hand the praises and commendations of silence, the majesty (I say), the mystical gravity and holiness of taciturnity, to represent always unto our mind and understanding, how much more admired, how much more loved, and how far wiser they are reputed, who speak roundly at once, and in few words, their mind pithily; who in a short and compendious speech comprehend more good matter and substance a great deal, than these great talkers, whose tongues are unbridled and run at random. Those (I say) be they whom Plato so highly esteemeth, comparing them to skilful and well-practised archers and darters, who have the feat of shooting arrows and lancing darts; for they know how and when to speak graciously and bitterly, soundly, pithily, and compactly. And verily, wise Lycurgus framed and exercised his citizens immediately from their childhood by keeping them down at the first with silence to this short and sententious kind of speech, whereby they spake always compendiously, and knit up much in a little. For like as they of Biskay or Celtiberia do make their steel of iron, by entering it and letting it lie first within the ground, and then by purging and refining it from the gross, terrene, and earthly substance that it hath; even so the Laconians' speech hath no outward bark (as a man would say) or crust upon it, but when all the superfluity thereof is taken away, it is steeled (as it were) and tempered, yea, and hath an edge upon it, fit for to work withal and to pierce: and verily that apophthegmatical and powerful speech of theirs, that grace which they had to answer sententiously and with such gravity, together with a quick and ready gift to meet at every turn with all objections, they attained unto by nothing else but by their much silence.

Wherefore, it were very expedient to set ever before the eyes of these great praters those short and witty speeches, that they may see what grace and gravity both they have: as for example; The Lacedæmonians unto Philip, greeting: Dionysius in Corinth. Also another time, when Philip had written unto them to this effect: If I enter once into the confines of Laconia, I will destroy you utterly that you shall never rise again; they returned this answer again in writing: Αἴκα; that is, If. Likewise when King Demetrius in great displeasure and indignation cried out aloud in these words: *The Lacedæmonians have sent unto me an ambassador alone, and who hath no fellow;* meaning that there came but one: the said ambassador, nothing daunted at his words, answered readily: *One for one.* Certes, they that used to speak short and sententiously, were highly esteemed long ago with our ancients and forefathers. And hereupon it was that the Amphictyons, that is to say, the deputies or states for the general counsel of all Greece, gave order that there should be written over the door of the Temple of Apollo Pythius, not the *Odyssey* or *Ilias* of Homer, nor yet the canticles or pæans of Pindarus; but these brief sentences: Γνῶθι σαυτὸν, that is, Know thyself; Μηδὲν ἄγαν, that is, Too much of nothing; also Ἐγγύα, πάρα δ' ἄτα, that is, Be surety and make account to pay: so highly esteemed they a plain, simple, and round manner of speaking, which comprised in few words much matter, and a sentence massy and sound: and no marvel, for Apollo himself loveth brevity, and is in his oracles very succinct and pithy; wherefore else is he surnamed Loxias? but because he chooseth rather to avoid plurality than obscurity of words. They also who without word uttered at all, signify the conceptions of their mind by certain symbolical devices, and after that manner deliver good lessons unto us; are they not sundry ways commended and admired exceedingly? Thus Heraclitus in times past, being requested by his neighbours and fellow-citizens to make a sententious speech unto them, and deliver his opinion as touching civil unity and concord, mounted up into the pulpit, and taking a cup of cold water in his hand, bespiced it (as it were) with some meal, and with a sprig or two of the herb pennyroyal, shook all together: which done, he drank it off, and so came down and went his way: giving them by this demonstration thus much to understand; that if men would take up with a little and be content with things at hand, without desiring costly superfluities, it were the next way to keep and preserve cities in peace and concord.

Scylurus, a king of the Scythians, left behind him fourscore sons; and when the hour of his death drew near, he called for a bundle of darts or a sheaf of arrows to be brought unto him, which he put into his children's hands one after another, and willed each one to break and burst the same in pieces, bound as it was entire and whole together: which when they had assayed to do, and putting all their strength unto it, could not, but gave over, himself took out of the sheaf or knitch the darts aforesaid one by one, and knapt them in twain single as they were with facility, declaring by this device, that so long as they held together their union and agreement would be strong and invincible; but their discord and disunion would make them feeble, and be an occasion that they should not long continue. He, then, that continually shall have these and such-like precedents in his mouth, and ordinarily repeat and remember the same, will peradventure take no great pleasure and delight in idle and superfluous words. For mine own part, surely I am abashed mightily at the example of that domestical servant at Rome, when I consider with myself what a great matter it is to be well advised before a man speaketh, and constantly to hold and maintain the resolution of any purpose. Publius Piso, the great orator and rhetorician, because he would provide that his people and servitors about him should not trouble his head with much prattle, gave order and commandment unto them, that they should make answer unto his demands only, and no more: now being minded one day to entertain Clodius, the chief ruler of the city, at his house, he bade him to supper, and caused him to be sent for and called at the time accordingly: for a stately and royal feast he had provided, by all likelihood, and as any man would think, no less: now when supper time was come, the rest of the invited guests were present, Clodius only they stayed and looked for; meanwhile, Piso had sent out oftentimes unto him one of his servitors who was wont ordinarily to bid his guests for to see whether he were coming, or would come to supper or no? but when it grew late in the evening, so that there was no hope now that he would be there: Now, sirrah (quoth Piso to his man aforesaid), didst thou not invite and bid him? Yes iwis, sir: Why then comes he not? said the master again: Forsooth (quoth he), because he denied to come: And why toldest thou not me this immediately? Because, sir, you never asked me the question. Well, this was a Roman servitor; but an Athenian servant I trow, whiles he is digging and delving, will tell his master news, and namely, what be the articles and

capitulations in the treaty and composition of peace. So powerful and forcible is use and custom in all things, whereof I purpose now to treat; for that there is no bit nor bridle that is able to repress, tame and keep in a talkative tongue, but it is custom that must do the deed and conquer this malady.

First and foremost, therefore, when in company there shall be any question propounded by them that are about thee, frame and use thyself to hold thy tongue and be silent, until thou see that every man else refuseth to speak and make answer: for according to Sophocles:

> To counsel and to run a course in race
> Have not both twain one end, to haste apace.

No more verily doth a voice and an answer shoot at the same mark that running aimeth at: for there, to wit, in a race, he winneth the prize that getteth to be foremost; but here, if another man have delivered a sufficient answer, it will be well enough, by praising and approving his speech, to gain the opinion and reputation of a courteous person; if not, then will it not be thought impertinent, neither can envy or hatred come of it, in case a man do gently shew and open that wherein the other was ignorant, and so after a mild and civil manner supply the defect of the former answer: but above all, this regard would be had: That when a question or demand is addressed and directed unto another, we take it not upon ourselves; and so anticipate and prevent his answer; and peradventure, neither in this nor in anything else, is it decent and commendable to offer and put forth ourselves too forward before we be required; and in this case, when another man is asked a question, our own intrusion, with the putting by of him, is not seemly; for we may be thought (in so doing) both to injure and discredit the party demanded, as if he were not able to perform that which was put upon him, and also to reproach the demandant, as though he had little skill and discretion, to ask a thing of him who could not give the same: and that which more is, such malapert boldness and heady hastiness in rash answering, importeth (most of all) exceeding arrogancy and presumption; for it seemeth, that he who taketh the answer out of his mouth of whom the question is demanded, would say thus much in effect: What need have we of him? what can he say unto it? what skill or knowledge hath he? when I am in place, no man ought to ask any other of these matters, but myself only. And yet many times we propose questions unto some, not of any

great desire that we have to hear their answers, but only because we would find talk, and minister occasion of discourse, seeking thereby to draw from them some words that may yield matter of mirth and pleasant conference: after which sort, Socrates used to provoke Theætetus and Charmides.

To prevent therefore the answer of another, to turn away men's ears, to divert their eyes and draw their cogitations from him to ourselves, is as much as if we should run before and make haste to kiss one first, who was minded to be kissed of another, or to enforce him to look upon us, whose eyes were set and fixed upon another; considering, that although the party unto whom the demand was made, be either not able nor willing to make answer, it were befitting for a man, after some little pause made, to present himself in all modesty and reverence, and then to frame and accommodate his speech as near unto that as may be, which he thinketh will content the mind of him that made the demand, and so answer (as it were) in the name of the other: for if they who are demanded a question make no good and sufficient answer, great reason they have to be pardoned and held excused; but he who intrudeth himself, and taking the words out of another's mouth, is ready to speak before he be spoken unto, by good right is odious, although he answer otherwise sufficiently; but if he fail, and make no good answer, certes he maketh himself ridiculous, and a very laughing-stock to the whole company.

The second point of exercise and meditation is in a man's own particular answers, wherein he ought especially to be careful and take heed who is given to over-much talk, to the end that they who would provoke him to speak, and all to make themselves merry and to laugh at him, may well know that he answereth not he knows not what inconsiderately, but with good advice and seriously to the point: for such there be in the world, who for no need at all, but only for to pass time in mirth, devise certain questions for the nonce, and in that manner propound them to such persons for no other end but to provoke them to prattle; and therefore they ought to have a good eye and regard before them, not to leap out and run all on a sudden hastily to their answer, as if they were well pleased and beholden unto them for to have such an occasion of speech; but with mature deliberation to consider the nature and behaviour of him that putteth out the question, together with the necessity thereof, and the profit that may ensue thereby; and if it appear, indeed, that the party be in good earnest, and desirous to learn and be

instructed, then he must accustom himself to repress his tongue and take some pause, allowing a competent space of time between the demand and the answer; during which silence, both the demander may have while to bethink himself and add somewhat thereto, if he list, and also the *demandé* time to think of an answer, and not let his tongue run before his wit, and so huddle up a confused answer before the question be fully propounded: for oftentimes it falleth out that for very haste they take no heed of those things which were demanded, but answer kim-kam, and one thing for another. True it is (I must needs say) that Pythia, the priestess of Apollo's temple, is wont to give answer by oracle at the same instant that the question is demanded, yea, and oftentimes before it be asked; for why? the god whom she serveth

> Doth understand the dumb, who cannot speak,
> And knows one's mind, before the tongue it break;

but among men, he that would wisely and to the purpose answer, ought to stay until he conceive the thought, and fully understand the intent of him that proposeth a question, lest that befall unto him which is said in the common proverb:

> About an hook I question made,
> And they gave answer of a spade;

and otherwise also, if that inconvenience were not, yet are we to bridle this lavish and hasty tongue of ours, and restrain the inordinate and hungry appetite which we have to be talking; lest it be thought that we had a flux (as it were) of humours gathered a long time about the tongue, and grown into an impostume, which we are very well content should be let out, and have issue made by a question tendered unto us, and so by that means be discharged thereof. Socrates was wont in this manner to restrain and repress his thirst, after that he had enchafed his body and set himself into an heat, either by wrestling, or running, or such-like exercises; he would not permit himself to drink before he had poured out the first bucket of water that he had drawn out of the pit or well, acquainting this his sensual appetite to attend the fit and convenient time that reason appointed.

Moreover, this would be noted, that there be three kinds of answers unto interrogations; the first necessary, the second civil, and the third needless and superfluous: as, for example: If one should ask whether Socrates be within or no; he that is unwilling or not ready and forward with his tongue, would

make answer and say: He is not within, but if he be disposed to laconise a little, and speak more brief, he would leave out the word (within) and say: He is not; or yet more short than so, pronouncing only the negative adverb, and saying no more but No. Thus the Lacedæmonians dealt once by Philip; for when he had dispatched his letters unto them to this effect; To know whether they would receive him into their city or no: they wrote back again, in fair great capital letters, within a sheet of paper, no more but OY, that is to say, No: and so sent it unto him: but he that would make answer to the former question of Socrates a little more civilly and courteously, would say thus: He is not within, sir, for he is gone to the bank or exchange; and to give yet a somewhat better measure, he might perhaps add, moreover, and say; He looketh there for certain strangers and friends of his. But a vain prating fellow, and one that loves many words, especially if his hap hath been to read the book of Antimachus the Colophonian, will make answer to the demand aforesaid in this wise: He is not within, sir, gone he is to the burse or exchange, for there he expecteth certain strangers out of Ionia, of whom and in whose behalf Alcibiades wrote unto him, who now maketh his abode within the city of Miletus, sojourneth with Tissaphernes, one of the lieutenants-general of the great King of Persia; who before time was in league with the Lacedæmonians, stood their friend, and sent them aid; but not for the love of Alcibiades, he is turned from them and is sided with the Athenians: for Alcibiades, being desirous to return into his own country, hath prevailed so much that he hath altered Tissaphernes his mind, and drawn him away from our part: and thus shall you have him rehearse in good earnest the whole eighth book (in manner) of Thucydides his story, until he have overwhelmed a man with a multitude of narrations, and made him believe that in Miletus there is some great sedition; that it is ready to be lost, and Alcibiades to be banished a second time.

Herein then ought a man principally to set his foot and stay his overmuch language, so as the centre and circumference of the answer be that which he who maketh the demand desireth and hath need to know. Carneades, before he had any great name, disputed one day in the public schools and place appointed for exercise: unto whom the master or president of the place sent beforehand, and gave him warning to moderate his voice (for he spake naturally exceeding big and loud, so as the schools rung again therewith): Give me, then (quoth he), a gauge and

measure for my voice; upon whom the said master replied thus not unproperly: Let him that disputeth with thee be the measure and rule to moderate thy voice by; even so a man may in this case say: The measure that he ought to keep who answereth, is the very will and mind of him that proposeth the question. Moreover, like as Socrates forbade those meats which drew men on to eat when they are not hungry, and likewise those drinks which caused them to drink who are not athirst, even so should a man who is given to much prattle be afraid of those discourses wherein he delighteth most, and which he is wont to use and take greatest pleasure in; and in case he perceive them to run willingly upon him for to withstand the same, and not give them entertainment. As, for example, martial men and warriors love to discourse and tell of battles; which is the reason that the poet Homer bringeth in Nestor[1] eftsoons recounting his own prowess and feats of arms: and ordinary it is with them who in judicial trials have had the upper hand of their adversaries, or who beyond the hope and opinion of every man have obtained grace and favour with kings and princes, to be subject unto this malady that evermore followeth them, namely to report and recount eftsoons the manner how they came in place; after what sort they were brought in; the order of their pleading; how they argued the case; how they convinced their accusers, and overthrew their adversaries; last of all, how they were praised and commended: for to say a truth, joy and mirth is much more talkative than that old Agrypnia which the poets do feign and devise in their comedies: for it rouseth and stirreth up, it reneweth and refresheth itself ever and anon, with many discourses and narrations; whereupon ready they are to fall into such speeches upon every light and colourable occasion: for not only is it true which the common proverb saith:

> Look where a man doth feel his pain and grief,
> His hand will soon be there to yield relief,

but also joy and contentment draweth unto it the voice, it leadeth the tongue always about with it, and is evermore willing to be remembered and related. Thus we see that amorous lovers pass the greater part of their time in rehearsing certain words which may renew the remembrance of their loves, insomuch that if they cannot meet with one person or other to relate the same unto, they will devise and talk of them with such

[1] Hector, rather, as some read.

things as have neither sense nor life: like as we read of one who break forth into these words:

> O dainty bed, most sweet and pleasant couch,
> O blessed lamp, O happy candle light,
> No less than God doth Bacchus you avouch,
> Nay, God you are the mightiest in her sight.

And verily a busy prater is altogether (as one would say) a white line or strake in regard of all words, to wit, without discretion he speaketh indifferently of all matters; howbeit if he be affected more to some than to others, he ought to take heed thereof, and abstain from them; he is (I say) to withdraw and writhe himself from thence; for that by reason of the contentment which he may therein take, and the pleasure that he receiveth thereby, they may lead him wide and carry him every while very far out of the way: the same inclination to overshoot themselves in prating they find also when they discourse of those matters wherein they suppose themselves to have better experience, and a more excellent habit than others: such an one, I say, being a self-lover and ambitious withal:

> Most part of all the day in this doth spend,
> Himself to pass, and others to transcend.

As, for example, in histories if he hath read much; in artificial style and couching of his words, he that is a grammarian; in relation of strange reports and news, who hath been a great traveller and wandered through many foreign countries: hereof therefore great heed would be taken; for garrulity being therein fleshed and baited, willingly runneth to the old and usual haunt, like as every beast seeketh out the ordinary and accustomed pasture.

And in this point was the young prince Cyrus of a wonderful and excellent nature, who would never challenge his playfellows and consorts in age unto any exercise wherein he knew himself to be superior and to surpass, but always to such feats wherein he was less practised than they; which he did as well because he would not grieve their hearts in winning the prize from them, as also for that he would profit thereby, and learn to do that wherein he was more raw and unready than they. But a talkative fellow contrariwise; if there be a matter proposed whereby he may hear and learn somewhat that he knew not before, rejecteth and refuseth it; he cannot for his life hold his tongue and keep silence a little while, to gain thereby some hire and reward, but casting and rolling his thought round about,

he never rests until he light upon some old ragged rhapsodies and overworn discourses, which he hath patched and tacked together a thousand times. Such a one there was among us, who happened by chance to have perused two or three books of Ephorus; whereby he took himself to be so great a clerk and so well read, that he wearied every man's ears who heard him talk; there was no assembly nor feast unto which he came, but he would force the company to arise and depart with his unmeasurable prating of the battle of Leuctres, and the occurrents that ensued thereupon, insomuch as he got himself a by-name, and every man called him Epaminondas. But this is the least inconvenience of all others that followeth this infirmity of much babbling: and surely one good means it is to the cure thereof; To turn the same from other matters to such as these: for thereby shall their tongue be less troublesome and offensive when it passeth the bonds in the terms only of literature.

Over and besides, for the remedy of this their disease, they shall do well to inure and accustom themselves to write somewhat, and to dispute of questions apart. Thus did Antipater the Stoic, who as it may be thought, being not able nor willing to hold out in disputation hand to hand with Carneades, who with a violent stream (as it were) of his forcible wit and eloquence refuted the sect of the Stoics, answered the said Carneades by writing, and filled whole books with contradictory assertions and arguments against him; insomuch as thereupon he was surnamed Calamoboas, which is as much to say, as the lusty crier with his pen: and so by all likelihood this manner of fighting with a shadow and loud exclaiming in secret, and apart by themselves, training these stout praters every day by little and little from the frequency and multitude of people, may make them in the end more sociable and fitter for company. Thus curst curs, after they have spent and discharged their choler and anger upon the cudgels or stones which have been thrown at them, become thereby more gentle and tractable to men. But above all, it were very expedient and profitable for them to be always near unto personages for years elder, and in authority greater than themselves, and with those to converse; for the reverent regard and fear that they have in respect of their dignity and gravity, may induce and direct them in time and by custom to keep silence; and evermore among those exercises heretofore by us specified, this advisement would be mingled and interlaced; That when we are about to speak, and that words be ready to run out of our mouth, we say thus unto

ourselves by way of reasoning: What manner of speech is this that is so urgent and presseth so hard to be gone? What ails my tongue, that it is so willing to be walking? What good may come by the utterance thereof? What harm may ensue by concealing it in and holding my peace? For we must not think that our words be like an heavy burden over-loading us, and whereof we should think ourselves well eased when we are discharged of them: for speech remaineth still as well when it is uttered as before: but men ought to speak either in the behalf of themselves when they stand in need of something, or to benefit others, or else to pleasure and recreate one another by pleasant devices and discourses (as it were), with salt to mitigate the painful travails in actions and worldly affairs, or rather to make the same more savoury whiles we are employed therein.

Now if a speech be neither profitable to him that delivereth it, nor necessary for him that heareth it, nor yet carry therewith any grace or pleasure; what need is there that it should be uttered? For surely, a man may as soon speak a word in vain, as do a thing to no purpose. But above and after all other good advertisements in this case, we ought always to have in readiness and remembrance this wise saying of Simonides: A man (quoth he) may repent many a time for words spoken, but never for a word kept in: this also we must think: That exercise is all in all, and a matter of that moment and efficacy, that it is able to master and conquer everything: considering that men will take great pains and be careful; yea, they will endure much sorrow for to be rid of an old cough; to chase away the troublesome yex or hicket. Besides, taciturnity hath not only this one fair property and good virtue, that (as Hippocrates saith) it never breedeth thirst; but also that it engendereth no pain, no grief nor displeasure, neither is any man bound to render an account thereof.

OF AVARICE OR COVETOUSNESS

THE SUMMARY

[If there be any excess in the world that troubleth the repose and tranquillity of the spirit, causing our life to be wretched and miserable, it is avarice; against which the sages and wise men of all ages from time to time have framed sharp and terrible invectives, which in sum and effect do shew thus much; That this covetousness and greedy desire of gathering goods is (as it were) the capital city and seat-town of all wickedness; the very sink of sin and receptacle of all vices. Now albeit all men with one voice, yea, and the most covetous persons of all others do confess as much, yet the heart of man is so affectionate a friend to the earth, that needful it is to propose and set down divers instructions for to avert the same from thence, and to cause it to range and sort with other occupations and affairs, more beseeming itself than is the over-curious searching after transitory and corruptible things. This is the reason that those philosophers who have handled the doctrine as touching manners are employed herein: and Plutarch among the rest, who teacheth us here in few words with what considerations we ought to be furnished and fortified, that we do not permit such a pestilent plague as this to seize upon our souls: and therewith he sheweth the miseries that befall unto avarice; whereof this is the first and principal; That instead of giving contentment, it maketh her slave most wretched, and putteth him to the greatest pain and torture in the world. And hereupon he interlaceth and inserteth a description of three sorts of covetous persons. First, of those who covet things rare and dangerous, whereas they should seek after necessaries. Secondly, of such as spend nothing, have much, and yet desire more and more; and these he depainteth in all their colours. Thirdly, of them that be niggards and base-minded pinch-pennies. Which done, he discovereth the second misery of covetous wretches, to wit; That avarice doth tyrannise over her caitiff and slave, not suffering him to use that which she commanded him to win and get. The third is this; That it causeth him to gather and heap up riches, for some promoter or catch-poll, or else for a tyrant, or else for some wicked and graceless heir, whose nature and properties he doth represent and describe very lively. Afterwards having concluded that covetous persons are herein especially miserable; for that the one sort of them use not their goods at all, and other abuse the same: he prescribeth three remedies against this mischievous malady. The first; That those who greedily gape after riches, have no more in effect than they who stand contented with that which is necessary for nature. The second; That we are not to

count them happy who be richly furnished with things unprofitable. And the last; That it is virtue wherein we ought to ground and seek for contentment; for there it is to be found and not in riches.]

Hippomachus, a great master of wrestling and such exercises of the body, hearing some to praise a certain tall man, high of stature, and having long arms and hands, commending him for a singular champion, and fit to fight at buffets: A proper fellow he were (quoth he) if the garland or prize of the victory were hung on high, for to be reached with the hand; semblably it may be said unto them who esteem so highly and repute it a great felicity to be possessed of much fair lands, to have many great and stately houses, to be furnished with mighty masses and sums of money, in case felicity were to be bought and sold for coin. And yet a man shall see many in the world, chuse rather to be rich and wretched withal, than to give their silver for to be happy and blessed: but surely it is not silver nor gold that can purchase either repose of spirit void of grief and anguish, or magnanimity, nor yet settled constancy and resolution, confidence, and suffisance, or contentment with our own estate. Be a man never so rich, he cannot skill thereby to contemn riches, no more than the possession of more than enough worketh this in us; That we want not still, and desire even things that be superfluous. What other evil and malady then doth our wealth and riches rid us from, if it delivereth us not from avarice? By drink men quench their thirst, by meat they slake their hunger. And he that said:

> Give Hipponax a cloak to keep him warm,
> For cold extreme I shake, and may take harm,

if there were many clothes hung or cast upon him, would be offended therewith and fling them from him; but this their strong desire and love of money, it is neither silver nor gold that is able to quench: and let a man have never so much, yet he coveteth nevertheless to have more still. And well it may be verified of riches which one said sometime to an ignorant and deceitful physician:

> Your drugs and salves augment my sore,
> They make me sicker than before.

For riches verily, after that men have once met therewith (whereas before they stood in need of bread, of a competent house to put their heads in, of mean raiment, and any viands that come next hand), fill them now with an impatient desire of gold, silver, ivory, emeralds, horses, and hounds, changing

and transporting their natural appetite of things needful and necessary, into a disordinate lust to things dangerous, rare, hard to be gotten, and unprofitable when they be had. For never is any man poor in regard of such things as suffice nature; never doth he take up money upon usury for to buy himself meat, cheese, bread, or olives; but one indebteth himself for to build a sumptuous and stately house; another runs in debt because he would purchase a grove of olive trees that joineth to his own land; one is engaged deeply in the usurer's books, by laying corn-grounds and wheat-fields to his own domains, another because he would be possessed of fruitful vineyards; some are indebted with buying mules of Galatia, and others, because they would be masters

> Of lusty steeds, to win the prize
> By running in a race,
> With rattling noise of empty coach,
> When it is drawn apace,

have cast themselves into the bottomless gulf of obligations, conditions, covenants, interests, statutes, real gages, and pawns: and afterwards it cometh to pass that like as they who drink when they be not dry, and eat without a stomach, many times cast up by vomit even that which they did eat and drink when they were hungry and thirsty; even so, when they will needs have such things as be superfluous and to no use, do not enjoy the benefit of those things that are needful and necessary indeed. Lo, what kind of people these be!

As for those who are at no cost, nor will lay out anything, and notwithstanding they have much, yet ever covet more; a man may rather marvel and wonder at them, if he would but remember that which Aristippus was wont to say: He that eateth much (quoth he) and drinketh likewise much, and is never satisfied nor full, goeth to the physicians, asketh their opinion what his disease and strange indisposition of the body might be, and withal craveth their counsel for the cure and remedy thereof: but if one who hath five fair bedsteads already with the furniture thereto belonging, and seeketh to make them ten; and having ten tables with their cupboards of plate, will needs buy ten more; and for all that he is possessed of fair manors and goodly lands, have his bags and coffers full of money, is never the better satisfied, but still gapeth after more, breaketh his sleeps, devising and casting as he lieth awake how to compass the same, and when he hath all, yet is he not full; such an one (I say) never thinks that he hath need of a physician to cure his malady or

to discourse unto him, from what cause all this doth proceed. And verily a man may look, that of those who are thirsty ordinarily, he that hath not drunk will be delivered of his thirst so soon as he meeteth with drink; but in case such an one as evermore drinketh and poureth in still, never giving over, yet nevertheless continueth dry and thirsty, we judge him to have no need of repletion, but rather of purging and evacuation; him (I say) we appoint for to vomit, as being not troubled and distempered upon any want, but with some extraordinary heat or unkind acrimonies of humours that be within him; even so it is with those that seek to get and gather goods: he that is bare and poor indeed, will haply give over seeking so soon as he hath got him an house to dwell in, or found some treasure, or met with a good friend to help him to a sum of money to make clear with the usurer, and to be crossed out of his book: but he that hath already more than enough and sufficient, and yet craveth more, surely it is neither gold nor silver that will cure him, neither horses, nor sheep, nor yet beeves will serve his turn; need had he of purgation and evacuation, for poverty is not his disease, but covetousness and an unsatiable desire of riches, proceeding from false judgment and a corrupt opinion that he hath, which if a man do not rid away out of his mind, as a winding gulf or whirlpool that is cross and overthwart in their way, they will never cease to hunt after superfluities, and seem to stand in need thereof, (that is to say) to covet those things which they know not what to do with. When a physician cometh into the chamber of a patient, whom he findeth lying along in his bed groaning, and refusing all food, he taketh him by the hand, feeleth his pulse, asketh him certain questions, and finding that he hath no ague; This is a disease (quoth he) of the mind, and so goeth his way; even so, when we see a worldly-minded man altogether set upon his gets and gains, pining away, and even consumed with the greedy worm of gathering good, weeping, whining, and sighing at expenses, and when any money is to go out of his purse, sticking at no pain and trouble, sparing for no indignity, no unhonest and indirect means whatsoever, nor caring which way he goes to work, whether it be by hook or crook, so that he may gain and profit thereby; having choice of houses and tenements, lands lying in every country, droves, herds, and flocks of cattle, a number of slaves, wardrobes of apparel and clothes of all sorts: what shall we say that this man is sick of, unless it be the poverty of the soul?

As for want of money and goods, one friend (as Menander

saith) may cure and help with his bountiful hand; but that penury and neediness of the soul all the men in the world, that either live at this day or ever were beforetime, are not able to satisfy and suffice: and therefore of such Solon said very well:

> No limit set, nor certain bound, men have
> Of their desire to goods, but still they crave.

For those who are wise and of sound judgment are content with that measure and portion which nature hath set down and assigned for them; such men know an end, and keep themselves within the centre and circumference of their need and necessity only. But this is a peculiar property that avarice hath by itself. For a covetous desire it is, even repugnant to satiety, and hindereth itself that it never can have sufficient, whereas all other desires and lusts are aiding and helpful thereto. For no man (I trow) that is a glutton forbeareth to eat a good morsel of meat for gormandise, nor drunkard abstaineth from drinking wine upon an appetite and love that he hath to wine, as these covetous wretches do, who spare their money and will not touch it, through a desire only that they have of money. And how can we otherwise think, but it were a piteous and lamentable case, yea and a disease next cousin to mere madness, if a man should therefore spare the wearing of a garment, because he is ready to chill and quake for cold, or forbear to touch bread, for that he is almost hunger-starved; and even so not to handle his goods because he loveth them: certes, such a one is in the same plight and piteous perplexity that Thrasonides was, who in a certain comedy describeth his own miseries:

> At home it is within my power,
> I may enjoy it every hour:
> I wish a thing as if I were
> In raging love, yet I forbear:
> When I have lock'd and seal'd up all,
> Or else put forth by count and tale,
> My coin to brokers for the use,
> Or other factors whom I chuse,
> I plod and plonder still for more,
> I hunt, I seek to fetch in store,
> I chide and brawl with servants mine,
> The husbandman and eke the hine
> I bring to count; and then anon
> My debtors all I call upon:
> By Dan Apollo now I swear,
> Was any man that earth did bear,
> Whom thou hast ever known or seen,
> In love more wretched to have been?

Sophocles being on a time demanded familiarly by one of his friends, whether he could yet keep company with a woman if

need were: God bless me (quoth he), my good friend, talk no more of that, I pray you, I am free from those matters long since, and by the benefit of mine old age, I have escaped the servitude of such violent and furious mistresses. And verily it is a good and gracious gift, that our lusts and appetites should end together with our strength and ability, especially in those delights and pleasures which, as Alcæus saith, neither man nor woman can well avoid. But this is not to be found in avarice and desire of riches; for she, like a curst, sharp, and shrewd quean, forceth indeed a man to get and gather, but she forbiddeth him withal to use and enjoy the same; she stirreth up and provoketh his lust, but she denieth him all pleasure. I remember that in old time Stratonicus taxed and mocked the Rhodians for their wasteful and superfluous expenses in this manner: They build sumptuously (quoth he), as if they were immortal and should never die; but they fare at their boards as though they had but a small while to live. But these covetous misers gather wealth together like mighty magnificoes, but they spend like beggarly mechanicals; they endure the pain and travail of getting, and taste no pleasure of the enjoying.

Demades the orator came one day to visit Phocion, and found him at dinner; but seeing but a little meat before him upon the table, and the same nothing fine and dainty, but coarse and simple: I marvel (quoth he), O Phocion, how you can take up with so short a dinner and so small a pittance, considering the pains you do endure in managing the affairs of state and commonwealth. As for Demades, he dealt indeed with government, and was a great man in the city with the people, but it was all for his belly, and to furnish a plentiful board, insomuch as, supposing that the city of Athens could not yield him revenue and provision sufficient for to maintain his excessive gormandise, he laid for cates and victuals out of Macedon, whereupon Antipater, when he saw him an old man with a wrinkled and withered face, said pleasantly: That he had nothing left now but his paunch and his tongue, much like unto a sheep, or some other beast killed for sacrifice when all is eaten besides. But thou, most unhappy and wretched miser, who would not make a wonder at thee, considering that thou canst lead so base and beggarly a life, without society of men or courtesy to thy neighbours, not giving ought to any person, shewing no kindness to thy friends, no bounty nor magnificence to the commonwealth, yet still doth afflict thy poor self, lie awake all the night long, toil and moil like a drudge and hireling

thyself, hire other labourers for day-wages, lie in the wind for inheritances, speak men fair in hope to be their heir, and debase thyself to all the world, and care not to whom thou cap and knee for gain, having, I say, so sufficient means otherwise to live at ease (to wit, thy niggardise and pinching parsimony), whereby thou mayst be dispensed for doing just nothing. It is reported of a certain Byzantine, who finding an adulterer in bed with his wife, who though she were but foul, yet was ill-favoured enough, said unto him: O miserable caitiff, what necessity hath driven thee thus to do? what needs Sapragoras dowry? well, go to: thou takest great pains, poor wretch, thou fillest and stirrest the lead, thou kindlest the fire also underneath it.

Necessary it is in some sort that kings and princes should seek for wealth and riches, that these governors also and deputies under them should be great gatherers, yea, and those also who reach at the highest places and aspire to rule and sovereign dignities in great states and cities; all these (I say) have need perforce to heap up gross sums of money, to the end that for their ambition, their proud port, pomp, and vain-glorious humour, they might make sumptuous feasts, give largesses, retain a guard about their persons, send presents abroad to other states, maintain and wage whole armies, buy slaves to combat and fight at sharp to the outrance: but thou makest thyself so much ado, thou troublest and tormentest both body and mind, living like an oyster or a shell-snail, and for to pinch and spare art content to undergo and endure all pain and travail, taking no pleasure nor delight in the world afterwards, no more than the bain-keeper's poor ass, which carrying billets and faggots of dry brush and sticks to kindle fire and to heat the stouphs, is evermore full of smoke, soot, ashes and cinders; but hath no benefit at all of the bain, and is never bathed, washed, warmed, rubbed, scoured and made clean. Thus much I speak in reproach and disdain of this miserable ass-like avarice, this base raping and scraping together in manner of ants or pismires.

Now there is another kind of covetousness more savage and beast-like, which they profess who backbite and slander, raise malicious imputations, forge false wills and testaments, lie in wait for heritages, cog and cozen, and intermeddle in all matters, will be seen in everything, know all men's states, busy themselves with many cares and troubles, count upon their fingers how many friends they have yet living, and when they have all done, receive no fruition or benefit by all the goods which

they have gotten together from all parts, with their cunning casts and subtle shifts. And therefore, like as we have in greater hatred and detestation, vipers, the venomous flies cantharides, and the stinging spiders called philangia and tarantale, than either bears or lions, for that they kill folk and sting them to death; but receive no good or benefit at all by them when they are dead; even so be these wretches more odious and worthy to be hated of us, who by their miserable parsimony and pinching do mischief, than those who by their riot and wastefulness be hurtful to a commonweal, because they take and catch from others that which they themselves neither will nor know how to use. Whereupon it is that such as these, when they have gotten abundance, and are in manner full, rest them for a while, and do no more violence as it were in time of truce and surcease of hostility; much after the manner as Demosthenes said unto them who thought that Demades had given over all his lewdness and knavery: O (quoth he), you see him now full as lions are, who when they have filled their bellies, prey no more for the lice until they be hungry again: but such covetous wretches as be employed in government of civil affairs, and that for no profit nor pleasure at all which they intend, those, I say, never rest nor make holiday, they allow themselves no truce nor cessation from gathering and heaping more together still, as being evermore empty, and have always need of all things though they have all.

But some man perhaps will say: These men (I assure you) do save and lay up goods in store for their children and heirs after their death, unto whom whiles they live they will part with nothing: If that be so, I can compare them very well to those mice and cats in gold mines, which feed upon the gold ore, and lick up all the golden sand that the mines yield, so that men cannot come by the gold there before they be dead and cut up in manner of anatomies. But tell me (I pray you) wherefore are these so willing to treasure up so much money and so great substance, and leave the same to their children, inheritors and successors after them? I verily believe to this end, that those children and heirs also of theirs should keep the same still for others likewise, and so to pass from hand to hand by descent of many degrees; like as earthen conduct-pipes, by which water is conveyed into some cistern, withhold and retain none of all the water that passeth through them, but do transmit and send all away from them, each one to that which is next, and reserve none to themselves; thus do they until some arise from

without, a mere stranger to the house, one that is a sycophant or very tyrant, who shall cut off this keeper of that great stock and treasure, and when he hath dispatched and made a hand of him, drive and turn the course of all this wealth and riches out of the usual channel another way; or at leastwise until it fall into the hands (as commonly men say it doth) of the most wicked and ungracious imp of that race, who will disperse and scatter that which others have gathered, who will consume and devour all unthriftily which his predecessors have gotten and spared wickedly: for not only as Euripides saith:

> Those children wasteful prove and bad,
> Who servile slaves for parents had,

but also covetous carls and pinching penny-fathers leave children behind them that be loose and riotous and spendthrifts; like as Diogenes by way of mockery said upon a time: That it were better to be a Megarian's ram than his son: for wherein they would seem to instruct and inform their children, they spoil and mar them clean, ingrafting into their hearts a desire and love of money, teaching them to be covetous and base-minded pinch-pennies, laying the foundation (as it were) in their heirs of some strong place or fort, wherein they may surely guard and keep their inheritance.

And what good lessons and precepts be these which they teach them: Gain and spare, my son, get and save; think with thyself and make thine account that thou shalt be esteemed in the world according to thy wealth and not otherwise. But surely this not to instruct a child, but rather to knit up fast or sew up the mouth of a purse that it may hold and keep the better whatsoever is put into it. This only is the difference, that a purse or money-bag becometh foul, sullied and ill-savouring after that silver is put into it; but the children of covetous persons, before they receive their patrimonies or attain to any riches, are filled already even by their fathers with avarice, and a hungry desire after their substance: and verily such children thus nurtured, reward their parents again for their schooling with a condign salary and recompense, in that they love them not because they shall receive much one day by them, but hate them rather for that they have nothing from them in present possession already, for having learned this lesson of them; To esteem nothing in the world in comparison of wealth and riches, and to aim at nought else in the whole course of their life, but to gather a deal of goods together, they repute the lives of their

parents to be a block in their way, they wish in heart that their heads were well laid, they do what they can to shorten their lives, making this reckoning; That how much time is added to their old age, so much they lose of their youthful years. And this is the reason why during the life of their fathers, secretly and underhand they steal (after a sort, by snatches) their pleasure, and enjoy the same; they will make semblance as if it came from other, when they give away money and distribute it among their friends, or otherwise spend it in their delights; whiles they catch it privily from under the very wing of their parents, and when they go to hear and take out their lessons, they will be sure to pick their purses if they can, before they go away; but after their parents be dead and gone, when they have gotten into their hands the keys of their coffers and signets of their bags, then the case is altered, and they enter into another course and fashion of life: you shall have my young masters then put on a grave and austere countenance, they will not seem to laugh, nor be spoken to, or acquainted with anybody; there is no talk now of anointing the body for any exercise, the racket is cast aside, the tennis court no more haunted, no wrestling practised, no going to the schools either of the Academy or Lyceum, to hear the lectures and disputations of professors and philosophers. But now the officers and servants be called to an audit and account; now they are examined what they have under their hands; now the writings, bills, obligations, and deeds are sought up and perused; now they fall to argue and reason with their receivers, stewards, factors, and debtors; so sharp-set they are to their negotiations and affairs; so full of cares and business that they have no leisure to take their dinners or noon meals; and if they sup, they cannot intend to go into the bain or hot-house before it be late in the night; the bodily exercises wherein they were brought up and trained in be laid down; no swimming nor bathing any more in the river Dirce; all such matters be cast behind and clean forgotten. Now if a man say to one of these: Will you go and hear such a philosopher read a lecture, or make a sermon? How can I go? (will he say again) I have no while since my father's death. O miserable and wretched man, what hath he left unto thee of all his goods comparable to that which he hath bereaved thee of, to wit, repose and liberty: but it is not thy father so much, as his riches flowing round about thee, that environeth and compasseth thee so, as it hath gotten the mastery over thee; this hath set foot upon thy throat,

this hath conquered thee; like unto that shrewd wife in Hesiodus,

> Who burns a man without a match
> Or brand of scorching fire,
> And driveth him to gray old age
> Before that time require,

causing thy soul (as it were) to be full of rivels and hoary hairs before time, bringing with it carking cares and tedious travels proceeding from the love of money, and a world of affairs without any repose, whereby that alacrity, cheerfulness, worship, and sociable courtesy which ought to be in a man are decayed and faded clean to nothing.

But what mean you, sir, by all this? (will some one haply say unto me). See you not how there be some that bestow their wealth liberally with credit and reputation? Unto whom I answer thus: Have you never heard what Aristotle said? That as some there are who have no use at all of their goods, so there be others who abuse the same; as if he should say: Neither the one nor other was seemly and as it ought to be: for as those get neither profit nor honour by their riches, so these sustain loss and shame thereby. But let us consider a little what is the use of these riches which are thus much esteemed: Is it not (I pray you) to have those things which are necessary for nature? but these who are so rich and wealthy above the rest, what have they more to content nature than those who live in a mean and competent estate? Certes, riches (as Theophrastus saith) is not so great a matter that we should love and admire it so much, if it be true that Callias, the wealthiest person in all Athens, and Ismenias, the richest citizen of Thebes, use the same things that Socrates and Epaminondas did. For like as Agathon banished the flute, cornet, and such other pipes from the solemn feasts of men, and sent them to women in their solemnities, supposing that the discourses of men who are present at the table are sufficient to entertain mirth; even so may he as well rid away out of houses, hangings, coverlets and carpets of purple, costly and sumptuous tables, and all such superfluities, who seeth that the great rich worldlings use the very same that poorer men do. I would not as Hesiodus saith:

> That plough or helm should hang in smoke to dry,
> Or painful tillage now be laid aside,
> Nor works of ox and mule for ever die,
> Who serve our turns to draw, to till, to ride;

but rather that these goldsmiths, turners, gravers, perfumers, and cooks would be chased and sent away, forasmuch as this were indeed an honest and civil banishment of unprofitable artificers as foreigners that may be spared out of a city. Now if it be so, that things requisite for the necessity of nature be common as well to the poor as the rich, and that riches do vaunt and stand so much upon nothing else but superfluities, and that Scopas the Thessalian is worthily commended in this; that being requested to give away and part with somewhat of his household stuff which he might spare and had no need of: Why (quoth he), in what things else consisteth the felicity of those who are reputed happy and fortunate in this world above other men, but in these superfluities that you seem to ask at my hands, and not in such as be necessary and requisite? If it be so, I say, see that you be not like unto him that praiseth a pomp and solemn shew of plays and games more than life indeed, which standeth upon things necessary. The procession and solemnity of the Bacchanals which was exhibited in our country, was wont in old time to be performed after a plain and homely manner, merrily and with great joy: You should have seen there one carrying a little barrel of wine, another a branch of a vine tree; after him comes one drawing and plucking after him a goat; then followeth another with a basket of dried figs; and last of all one that bare in shew phallus, that is to say, the resemblance of the genital member of a man: but nowadays all these ceremonies are despised, neglected, and in manner not at all to be seen, such a train there is of those that carry vessels of gold and silver, so many sumptuous and costly robes, such stately chariots richly set out are driven and drawn with brave steeds most gallantly dight, besides the pageants, dumb-shews and masks, that they hide and obscure the ancient and true pomp according to the first institution; and even so it is in riches; the things that be necessary and serve for use and profit are overwhelmed and covered with needless toys and superfluous vanities, and I assure you the most part of us be like unto young Telemachus, who for want of knowledge and experience, or rather indeed for default of judgment and discretion, when he beheld Nestor's house furnished with beds, tables, hangings, tapestry, apparel, and well provided also of sweet and pleasant wines, never reckoned the master of the house happy for having so good provision of such necessary and profitable things: but being in Menelaus his house, and seeing there store of ivory, gold and silver, and the metal electrum, he was ravished and

in an ecstasy with admiration thereof, and brake out in these words:

Like unto this, the palace all
Within I judge to be,
Of Jupiter, that mighty god,
Who dwells in azure sky:
How rich, how fair, how infinite
Are all things which I see!
My heart, as I do them behold,
Is ravish'd wondrously.

But Socrates or Diogenes would have said thus rather:

How many wretched things are here?
How needless all and vain?
When I them view, I laugh thereat,
Of them I am not fain.

And what sayst thou, foolish and vain sot as thou art? Whereas thou shouldest have taken from thy very wife her purple, her jewels and gaudy ornaments, to the end that she might no more long for such superfluity, nor run a madding after foreign vanities, far fetched and dear bought; dost thou contrariwise embellish and adorn thy house, like a theatre, scaffold and stage to make a goodly sight for those that come into the shew-place? Lo, wherein lieth the felicity and happiness that riches bringeth, making a trim shew before those who gaze upon them, and to testify and report to others what they have seen: set this aside (that they be not shewed to all the world) there is nothing at all therein to reckon. But it is not so with temperance, with philosophy, with the true knowledge of the gods, so far forth as is meet and behoveful to be known, for these are the same still and all one, although every man attain not thereto but all others be ignorant thereof. This piety (I say) and religion hath always a great light of her own and resplendent beams proper to itself, wherewith it doth shine in the soul, evermore accompanied with a certain joy that never ceaseth to take contentment in her own good within, whether any one see it or no, whether it be unknown to gods and men or no, it skilleth not. Of this kind and nature is virtue indeed, and truth, the beauty also of the mathematical sciences, to wit, geometry and astrology; unto which who will think that the gorgeous trappings and caparisons, the brooches, collars and carkans of riches are any ways comparable, which (to say a truth) are no better than jewels and ornaments good to trim young brides and set out maidens for to be seen and looked at? For riches, if no man do regard, behold, and set their eyes on them (to say a truth), is a blind

thing of itself, and sendeth no light at all nor rays from it; for certainly say that a rich man dine and sup privately alone, or with his wife and some inward and familiar friends, he troubleth not himself about furnishing of his table with many services, dainty dishes, and festival fare; he stands not so much upon his golden cups and goblets, but useth those things that be ordinary, which go about every day and come next hand, as well vessel as viands; his wife sits by his side and bears him company, not decked and hung with jewels and spangles of gold, not arrayed in purple, but in plain attire and simply clad; but when he makes a feast, (that is to say) sets out a theatre wherein the pomps and shews are to meet and make a jangling noise together, when the plays are to be represented of his riches, and the solemn train thereof to be brought in place; then comes abroad his brave furniture indeed; then he fetcheth out of the ship his fair chaufers and goodly pots; then bringeth he forth his rich three-footed tables; then come abroad the lamps, candlesticks and branches of silver; the lights are disposed in order about the cups; the cup-bearers, skinkers and tasters are changed; all places are newly dight and covered; all things are then stirred and removed that saw no sun long before; the silver plate, the golden vessels, and those that be set and enriched with precious stones; to conclude, now there is no shew else but of riches; at such a time they confess themselves and will be known wealthy. But all this while, whether a rich man sup alone, or make a feast, temperance is away and true contentment.

OF THE NATURAL LOVE OR KINDNESS OF PARENTS TO THEIR CHILDREN

THE SUMMARY

[WISELY said one (whosoever it was), That to banish amity and friendship from among men were as great hurt to the society of mankind as to deprive them of the light and heat of the sun: which being verified and found true in the whole course of this life, and in the maintenance of all estates; not without great cause nature hath cast and sprinkled the seed thereof in the generation and nourishment of a race and lineage, whereof she giveth evident testimonies in brute beasts, the better to move and incite us to our duty. That we may see, therefore, this precious seed and grain of amity, how it doth flower and fructify in the world, we must begin at the love and natural kindness of fathers and mothers to their children: for if this be well kept and maintained, there proceed from it an infinite number of contentments which do much assuage and ease the inconveniences and discommodities of our life. And Plutarch, entering into this matter, sheweth first in generality: That men learn (as it were) in the school of brute beasts, with what affection they should beget, nourish, and bring up their children: afterward he doth particularise thereof, and enrich the same argument by divers examples. But for that he would not have us think that he extolled dumb beasts above man and woman, he observeth and setteth down very well the difference that is of amities, discoursing in good and modest terms as touching the generation and nouriture of children, and briefly by the way representeth unto us the miserable entrance of man into this race upon earth, where he is to run his course. Which done, he proveth that the nourishing of infants hath no other cause and reason but the love of fathers and mothers; he discovereth the source of this affection; and for a conclusion, sheweth that what defect and fault soever may come between and be meddled among, yet it cannot altogether abolish the same.]

THAT which moved the Greeks at first to put over the decision of their controversies to foreign judges, and to bring into their country strangers to be their umpires, was the distrust and diffidence that they had one in another, as if they confessed thereby that justice was indeed a thing necessary for man's life, but it grew not among them: And is not the case even so as touching certain questions disputable in philosophy? for the determining whereof philosophers (by reason of the sundry and

divers opinions which are among them) have appealed to the nature of brute beasts, as it were into a strange city, and remitted the deciding thereof to their properties and affections, according to kind, as being neither subject to partial favour, nor yet corrupt, depraved, and polluted. Now surely a common reproach this must needs be to man's naughty nature and lewd behaviour; That when we are in doubtful question concerning the greatest and most necessary points pertaining to this present life of ours, we should go and search into the nature of horses, dogs, and birds for resolution; namely, how we ought to make our marriages, how to get children, and how to rear and nourish them after they be born, and as if there were no sign (in manner) or token of nature imprinted in ourselves, we must be fain to allege the passions, properties, and affections of brute beasts, and to produce them for witnesses, to argue and prove how much in our life we transgress and go aside from the rule of nature, when at our first beginning and entrance into this world, we find such trouble, disorder, and confusion; for in those dumb beasts beforesaid, nature doth retain and keep that which is her own and proper, simple, entire, without corruption or alteration by any strange mixture; whereas contrariwise, it seemeth that the nature of man, by discourse of their reason and custom together, is mingled and confused with so many extravagant opinions and judgments, set from all parts abroad (much like unto oil that cometh into perfumers' hands), that thereby it is become manifold variable, and in every one several and particular, and doth not retain that which the own indeed, proper and peculiar to itself; neither ought we to think it a strange matter and a wonderful that brute beasts, void of reason, should come nearer unto nature, and follow her steps better, than men endued with the gift of reason: for surely the very senseless plants herein surpass those beasts beforesaid, and observe better the instinct of nature; for considering that they neither conceive anything by imagination, nor have any motion, affection or inclination at all, so verily their appetite (such as it is) varieth not nor stirreth to and fro out of the compass of nature, by means whereof they continue and abide as if they were kept in and bound within close prison, holding on still in one and the same course, and not stepping once out of that way wherein nature doth lead and conduct them: as for beasts, they have not any such great portion of reason to temper and mollify their natural properties, neither any great subtlety of sense and conceit, nor much desire of liberty; but having many instincts,

inclinations, and appetites, not ruled by reason, they break out by the means thereof otherwhiles, wandering astray, and running up and down, to and fro, howbeit, for the most part, not very far out of order, but they take sure hold of nature; much like a ship which lieth in the road at anchor, well may she dance and be rocked up and down, but she is not carried away into the deep at the pleasure of winds and waves; or much after the manner of an ass or hackney, travelling with bit and bridle, which go not out of the right and straight way, wherein the master or rider guideth them; whereas in man, even reason herself, the mistress that ruleth and commandeth all, findeth out new cuts (as it were) and by-ways, making many starts and excursions at her pleasure to and fro, now here, now there; whereupon it is that she leaveth no plain and apparent print of nature's tracks and footing.

Consider, I pray you, in the first place the marriages (if I may so term them) of dumb beasts and reasonless creatures; and namely how therein they follow precisely the rule and direction of nature. To begin withal; they stand not upon those laws that provide against such as marry not, but lead a single life; neither make they reckoning of the acts which lay a penalty upon those that be late ere they enter into wedlock, like as the citizens under Lycurgus and Solon, who stood in awe of the said statutes; they fear not to incur the infamy which followed those persons that were barren and never had children; neither do they regard and seek after the honours and prerogatives which they attained who were fathers of three children, like as many of the Romans do at this day, who enter into the state of matrimony, wed wives and beget children, not to the end that they might have heirs to inherit their lands and goods, but that they might themselves be inheritors and capable of dignities and immunities. But to proceed unto more particulars, the male afterwards doth deal with the female in the act of generation not at all times; for that the end of their conjunction and going together is not gross pleasure so much as the engendering of young and the propagation of their kind: and therefore at a certain season of the year, to wit, the very prime of the spring, when as the pleasant winds so apt for generation do gently blow, and the temperature of the air is friendly unto breeders, cometh the female full lovingly and kindly toward her fellow the male, even of her own accord and motion (as it were), trained by the hand of that secret instinct and desire in nature; and for her own part, she doth what she can to woo and solicit him to

regard her, as well by the sweet scent of her flesh as also by a special and peculiar ornament and beauty of her body, shewing herself fresh and cheerful, full of dew and verdure of green herbs, pure and neat, I warrant you; in this manner doth she present herself unto the male and courteth him: now when she perceives once that she is sped and hath conceived by him, she leaveth him and retireth apart in good sort full decently; and then her whole care is to provide for that which she goeth withal, forecasting how to be delivered of it in due time, and bethinking how to save, preserve and rear it when it is fallen and brought forth. And certes, it is not possible to express sufficiently and worthily the particulars that are done by these dumb creatures (but only this, that everything proceedeth from the tender love and affection which they have to their young ones) in providence, in patience, in abstinence.

We all acknowledge the bee to be wise, we call her so, we celebrate her name for producing and working so diligently that yellow honey, yea, and we flatter in praising her, feeling as we do the sweetness of the said honey, how it tickleth and contenteth our tongue and taste; and all this while what one is there of us that maketh any account of the wisdom, wit, and artificial subtlety that other creatures shew, as well in the bringing forth their young as the fostering and nouriture of them? for first and foremost do but consider the sea-bird called alcyon, no sooner doth she perceive herself to be knit with egg but she falleth presently to build her nest, she gathereth together the chine-bones of a certain sea-fish which the Greeks call βελόνη, that is to say, the sea-needle; these she coucheth, plaiteth, windeth and interlaceth one within another, so artificially working the same and weaving them close together in a round and large form, after the manner of a fisher's leap or weel net; and when she hath knit and fortified the same exactly with many courses of the said bones driven and united jointly together in good order, she exposeth it full against inundation and dashing of the sea waves, to the end that the superficial outside of the work, beaten upon gently and by little and little with the water, being thickened and felted thereby, might be more solid and firm, and so it proveth indeed; for so hard it groweth by this means that scarcely any stone can crush it, or edged instrument of iron cleave it; but that which is yet more wonderful, the mouth and entry of the said nest is composed and wrought proportionably just to the measure and bigness of the bird alcyon aforesaid, so as no creature bigger or less than

herself, no nor the very sea (as men say) nor the least thing in the world can get into it. And will you see, moreover, what kindness and natural affection the sea-weesils or sea-dogs do shew unto their little ones? They breed their young whelps or kitlings alive within their bellies, and when they list, let them forth and suffer them to run abroad for relief and to get their food, and afterwards receive them into their bodies again, enclosing them whiles they be asleep themselves, cherishing them couched in their bowels and womb. The she-bear, a most fell, savage and cruel beast, bringeth forth her young whelps without form or fashion, unknit and unjointed, having no distinct limbs or members to be seen; howbeit with her tongue, as it were with a tool and instrument for the purpose, she keepeth such a licking of them, she formeth and fashioneth those membranes wherein they were lapped in her womb, in such sort that she seemeth not only to have brought forth her young, but also to have wrought them afterwards workman-like to their shape and proportion. As for that lion which Homer describeth in this wise:

Who leading forth his tender whelps
To seek abroad for prey
In forest wild; no sooner meets
With hunters in the way,
But looking stern with bended brows
Which cover both his eyes,
He makes a stand, and them affronts
In fierce and threat'ning wise:

think you not by this description that he resembleth one who is bent to capitulate and stand upon terms of composition with the hunters for to save the life of his little ones? To speak in a word, this tender love and affection of beasts toward their young maketh them that otherwise be timorous, hardy and bold; those that be slow and idle by nature, laborious and painful; and such as of themselves are greedy and ravenous, to be spare and temperate in their feeding, like as the bird whereof the same Homer speaketh:

Which brings in mouth unto her nest,
Such food as she abroad
Could get to feed her naked young,
And doth herself defraud.

For content she is even with her own hunger to nourish her little ones, and the same food or bait that she hath for them, being so near as it is unto her own craw and gesier, she holdeth close and fast in her bill, for fear lest she might swallow it down the throat ere she were aware:

Or like the bitch running about
Her young whelps, at the sight
Of strangers, bays and barks apace,
And ready is to fight.

No doubt the fear which she hath lest her little one should take harm redoubleth her courage, and maketh her more hardy and angry than before: as for the partridges, when they be laid for by the fowler, together with their covey of young birds, they suffer them to fly away as well as they can, and make shift to save themselves, but the old rowens full subtilly seem to wait the coming of the said hunters, abiding until they approach near unto them, and by keeping about their feet, train them still away after them, ready ever as it were to be caught; now when the fowler shall seem to reach unto them with his hand, they will run a little or take a short flight from him, and then they stay again, putting him in new hope of his prey and booty, which every foot he thinketh to take with his hand: thus they play mock-holiday with the fowlers, and yet with some danger to themselves for the safety of their young, until they have trained them a great way off, who sought for their lives. Our hens which we keep about our houses so ordinarily, and have daily in our eyes, how carefully do they look unto their young chickens whiles they receive some under their wings, which they spread and hold open for the nonce that they may creep in, others they suffer to mount upon their backs, gently giving them leave to climb and get up on every side, and this they do not without great joy and contentment, which they testify by a kind of clocking and special noise that they make at such a time; if when they be alone without their chickens, and have no fear but for themselves, a dog or a serpent come in their way, they fly from them; let their brood be about them when such a danger is presented, it is wonderful how ready they will be to defend the same, yea, and to fight for them, even above their power.

Do we think now that nature hath imprinted such affections and passions in these living creatures, for the great care that she hath to maintain the race and posterity (as it were) of hens, dogs, or bears; or do we not rather make this construction of it, that she shameth, pricketh, and woundeth men thereby when we reason and discourse thus within ourselves, that these things be good examples for as many as follow them, and the reproaches of those that have no sense or feeling of natural affection; by which no doubt they do blame and accuse the nature of man only, as if she alone were not affectionate without some hire

and reward, nor could skill of love but for gain and profit? for admired he was in the theatres that thus spake first:

> For hope of gain one man will love another,
> Take it away, what one will love his brother?

This is the reason (according to the opinion and doctrine of Epicurus) that the father affecteth his son, the mother is tender over her child, and children likewise are kind unto their parents: but set case that brute beasts could both speak and understand language, in some open theatre, and that one called to meet together a sufficient assembly of beeves, horses, dogs and fowls, certes, if their voices were demanded upon this point now in question, he would set down in writing and openly pronounce, that neither bitches loved their whelps, nor mares their foals, hens their chickens, and other fowls their little birds in respect of any reward, but freely and by the instinct of nature: and this would be found a true verdict of his, justified and verified by all those passions and affections which are observed in them: and what a shame and infamy unto mankind is this to grant and avouch, that the act of generation in brute beasts, their conception, their breeding, their painful delivery of their young, and the careful feeding and cherishing of them, be nature's works merely, and duties of gratuity; and contrariwise that in men they be pawns given them for security of interest, hires, gages, and earnest pennies respective to some profit and gain which they draw after them? But surely as this project is not true, so it is not worth the hearing, for nature verily as in savage plants and trees, to wit, wild vines, wild fig-trees, and wild olives, she doth ingenerate certain raw and unperfect rudiments (such as they be) of good and kind fruits; so she hath created in brute beasts a natural love and affection to their young, though the same be not absolute nor fully answerable to the rule of justice, nor yet able to pass farther than the bonds and limits of necessity.

As for man, a living creature, endued and adorned with reason, created and made for a civil society, whom she hath brought into the world for to observe laws and justice, to serve, honour and worship the gods, to found cities and govern commonwealths, and therein to exercise and perform all offices of bounty: him she hath bestowed upon noble, generous, fair and fruitful seeds of all these things, to wit, a kind love and tender affection toward his children; and these she followeth still, and persisteth therein, which she infused together with the first

principles and elements that went to the frame of his body and soul: for nature being every way perfect and exquisite, and namely in this inbred love toward infants, wherein there wanteth nothing that is necessary, neither from it is ought to be taken away as superfluous; It hath nothing (as Erasistratus was wont to say) vain, frivolous, and unprofitable, nothing inconstant, and shaking to and fro, inclining now one way, and then another. For in the first place, as touching the generation of man, who is able to express her prudence sufficiently? neither haply may it stand with the rule of decent modesty to be overcurious and exquisite in delivering the proper names and terms thereto belonging: for those natural parts serving in that act of generation and conception, secret as they be and hidden, so they neither can well nor would willingly be named, but the composition and framing thereof, so aptly made for the purpose, the disposition and situation likewise so convenient, we ought rather to conceive in our mind than utter in speech.

Leaving therefore those privy members to our private thoughts, pass we to the confection, disposition and distribution of the milk, which is sufficient to shew most evidently her providence, industry, and diligence; for the superfluous portion of blood which remaineth in a woman's body, over and above that which serveth for the use whereunto it is ordained, floating up and down within her afterwards, for defect or feebleness of spirits wandereth (as it were) to and fro, and is a burden to her body; but at certain set times and days, to wit, in every monthly revolution, nature is careful and diligent to open certain sluices and conducts, by which the said superfluous blood doth void and pass away, whereupon she doth not only purge and lighten all the body besides, but also cleanseth the matrice, and maketh it like a piece of ground brought in order and temper, apt to receive the plough, and desirous of the seed after it in due season: now when it hath once conceived and retained the said seed, so as the same take root and be knit, presently it draweth itself straight and close together round, and holdeth the conception within it; for the navel (as Democritus saith) being the first thing framed within the matrice, and serving instead of an anchor against the waving and wandering of it to and fro, holdeth sure the fruit conceived, which both now groweth and hereafter is to be delivered (as it were) by a sure cable and strong bough, then also it stoppeth and shutteth up the said riverets and passages of those monthly purgations; and taking the foresaid blood, which otherwise

would run and void by those pipes and conducts, it maketh use thereof for to nourish, and (as it were) to water the infant, which beginneth by this time to take some consistence and receive shape and form, so long, until a certain number of days which are necessary for the full growth thereof within be expired; at which time it had need to remove from thence for a kind of nutriment elsewhere in another place; and then diverting the said course of blood with all dexterity and a skilful hand (no gardener nor fountainer in drawing of his trenches and channels with all his cunning so artificial), and employing it from one use to another, she hath certain cisterns (as it were) or fountain-heads prepared of purpose from a running source most ready to receive that liquor of blood quickly, and not without some sense of pleasure and contentment; but withal, when it is received, they have a power and faculty, by a mild heat of the natural spirits within them, and with a delicate and feminine tenderness, to concoct, digest, change and convert it into another nature and quality, for that the paps have within them naturally the like temperature and disposition answerable unto it: now these teats which spout out milk from the cocks of a conduct, are so framed and disposed that it floweth not forth all at once, neither do they send it away suddenly: but nature hath so placed the dug, that as it endeth one way in a spongeous kind of flesh full of small pipes, and made of purpose to transmit the milk, and let it distil gently by many little pores and secret passages, so it yieldeth a nipple in manner of a faucet, very fit and ready for the little babe's mouth, about which to nuzzle and nudgel with its pretty lips it taketh pleasure, and loveth to be tugging and lugging of it; but to no purpose and without any fruit or profit at all had nature provided such tools and instruments for to engender and bring forth a child; to no end (I say) had she taken so good order, used so great industry, diligence and forecast, if withal she had not imprinted in the heart of mothers a wonderful love and affection, yea, and an extraordinary care over the fruit of their womb, when it is born into the world: for

> Of creatures all which breathe and walk
> Upon the earth in sight,
> None is there wretched more than man
> New born into this light.

And whosoever saith thus of a young infant newly coming forth of the mother's womb, maketh no lie at all, but speaketh truth; for nothing is there so imperfect, so indigent and poor, so naked,

so deformed, so foul and impure, than is man to see to presently upon his birth, considering that to him (in manner alone) nature hath not given so much as a clean passage and way into this light; so furred he is all over and polluted with blood, so full of filth and ordure, when he entereth into the world, resembling rather a creature fresh killed and slain than newly born; that nobody is willing to touch, to take up, to handle, dandle, kiss and clip it, but such as by nature are led to love it: and therefore, whereas in all other living creatures nature hath provided that their udders and paps should be set beneath under their bellies, in a woman only she hath seated them aloft in her breasts, as a very proper and convenient place, where she may more readily kiss, embrace, coll and huggle her babe while it sucketh; willing thereby to let us understand that the end of breeding, bearing and rearing children is not gain and profit, but pure love and mere affection. Now, if you would see this more plainly proved unto you, propose (if you please) and call to remembrance the women and men both in the old world whose hap was either first to bear children, or to see an infant newly born; there was no law then to command and compel them to nourish and bring up their young babes, no hope at all of reciprocal pleasure or thanks at their hands that induced them; no expectance of reward and recompense another day to be paid from them, as due debt for their care, pains, and cost about them: nay, if you go to that, I might say rather: That mothers had some reason to deal hardly with their young infants, and to bear in mind the injuries that they have done them, in that they endured such dangers and so great pains for them:

> As namely, when the painful throes
> As sharp as any dart,
> In travail pinch a woman near,
> And pierce her to the heart:
> Which midwives, Juno's daughters then,
> Do put her to, poor wretch,
> With many a pang, when with their hand
> They make her body stretch.

But our women say; It was never Homerus (surely) who wrote this, but Homeris rather: that is to say, some poetess or woman of his poetical vein, who had been herself at such a business, and felt the dolorous pangs of childbirth, or else was even then in labour, and upon the point to be delivered, feeling a mixture of bitter and sharp throes in her back, belly and flanks, when she poured out these verses: but yet, for all the sorrow and dear bargain that a mother hath of it, this kind and natural

love doth still so bend, incline and lead her, that notwithstanding she be in a heat still upon her travail, full of pains and afterthroes, panting, trembling, and shaking for very anguish, yet she neglecteth not her sweet babe, nor windeth or shrinketh away from it; but she turneth toward it, she maketh to it, she smileth and laugheth upon it, she taketh it into her arms, she huggleth it in her bosom, and kisseth it full kindly: neither all this whiles gathereth she any fruits of pleasure or profit, but painfully (God wot) and carefully

> She laps it then in rags full soft,
> With swaddling bands she wraps it oft,
> By turns she cools and keeps it warm,
> Loth is she that it should take harm:
> And thus as well by night as day,
> Pains after pains she taketh ay.

Now tell me (I pray you) what reward, recompense, and profit do women reap for all this trouble and painful hand about their little ones? None at all (surely) for the present, and as little in future expectance another day, considering their hopes are so far off, and the same so uncertain. The husbandman that diggeth and laboureth about his vine at the equinox in the spring, presseth grapes out of it and maketh his vintage at the equinox of the autumn. He that soweth his corn when the stars called Pleiades do couch and go down, reapeth and hath his harvest afterwards when they rise and appear again; kine calve, mares foal, hens hatch, and soon after there cometh profit of their calves, their colts and their chickens: but the rearing and education of a man is laborious, his growth is very slow and late; and whereas long it is ere he cometh to prove and make any shew of virtue, commonly most fathers die before that day. Neocles lived not to see the noble victory before Salanus that Themistocles his son achieved: neither saw Miltiades the happy day wherein Simon his son won the field at the famous battle near the river Eurynidon: Xantippus was not so happy as to hear Pericles his son out of the pulpit preaching and making orations to the people; neither was it the good fortune of Ariston to be at any of his son Plato's lectures and disputations in philosophy: the fathers of Euripides and Sophocles, two renowned poets, never knew of the victories which they obtained for pronouncing and rehearsing their tragedies in open theatre, they might hear them peradventure when they were little ones to stammer, to lisp, to spell and put syllables together, or to speak broken Greek, and that was all. But ordinary it is

that men live to see, hear, and know when their children fall to gaming, revelling, masking, and banqueting, to drunkenness, wanton love, whoring, and such-like misdemeanours. So as in these regards this one *mot* of Euenus in an epigram of his, deserveth to be praised and remembered:

> See how great pains all fathers undergo,
> What daily griefs their children put them to.

And yet for all this, fathers cease not still to nourish and bring up children, and such most of all who stand least in need of their children another day; for a mere mockery it were and a ridiculous thing, if a man should suppose that rich and wealthy men do sacrifice unto the gods, and make great joy at the nativity and birth of their children, because that one day they shall feed and sustain them in their old age, and inter them after they be dead; unless perhaps it may be said, they rejoice thus and be so glad to have and bring up children, for that otherwise they should leave none heirs behind them; as who would say, it were so hard a matter to find out and meet with those that would be willing to inherit the lands and goods of strangers. Certes, the sands of the sea, the little motes in the sun raised of dust, the feathers of birds together with their variable notes, be not so many in number as there be men that gape after heritages, and be ready to succeed others in their livings. Danaus (who, as they say, was the father of fifty daughters), if his fortune had been to be childless, I doubt not but he should have had more heirs than so to have parted his goods and state among them, and those verily after another sort than the heirs of his own body. For children yield their parents no thanks at all for being their inheritors, neither in regard thereof do they any service, duty or honour unto them; for why? they expect and look for the inheritance as a thing due and of right belonging unto them: but contrariwise you hear how those strangers that hang and hunt about a man who hath no children, much like to those in the comedies, singing this song:

> O sir, no wight shall do you any harm,
> I will revenge your wrongs and quarrels ay:
> Hold here, three halfpence good to keep you warm,
> Purse it, drink it, sing woe and care away.

As for that which Euripides saith:

> These worldly goods procure men friends to chuse,
> And credit most, who then will them refuse,

it is not simply and generally true, unless it be to those as have no children; for such indeed are sure to be invited and feasted by the rich; lords and rulers will make court and be serviceable to such; for them great orators and advocates will plead at the bar without fee, and give their counsel gratis:

> How mighty is a rich man with each one,
> So long as his next heir is known to none!

whereas you shall see many in the world, who beforetime having a number of friends and honour enough, and no sooner had a little child born unto them, but they lost all their friends, credit, and reputation at once, so that by this reckoning the having of children maketh nothing at all to the authority of their parents, so that in regard thereof it is not that they do so love their children; but surely the cause of this their kindness and affection proceedeth altogether from nature, and appeareth no less in mankind than in wild beasts: Howbeit otherwhiles this natural love, as well as many other good qualities in men, are blemished and obscured by occasion of vice that buddeth up afterwards; like as we see wild briars, bushes and brambles to spring up and grow among good and kind seeds, for otherwise we might as well collect and say that men love not themselves because many cut their own throats, or wilfully fall down headlong from steep rocks and high places. For Œdipus

> With bloody hand his own eyelids did force,
> And plucked out his eyes upon remorse.

Hegesias, disputing and discoursing upon a time of abstinence, caused many of his auditors and scholars to pine themselves to death:

> Such accidents of many sorts there be,
> Permitted by the gods we daily see.

But all of them, like as those other passions and maladies of the mind before named, transport a man out of his own nature, and put him beside himself, so as they testify against themselves that this is true, and that they do amiss herein; for if a sow having farrowed a little pig, devour it when she hath done, or a bitch chance to tear in pieces a puppy or whelp of her own litter, presently men are amazed at the sight thereof, and wonderfully affrighted, whereupon they sacrifice unto the gods certain expiatory sacrifices, for to divert the sinister presages thereof, as taking it to be a prodigious wonder, and confessing thereby that it is a property given to all living creatures, even by the instinct and institution of nature, to love, foster and

cherish the fruit of their own bodies: so far is it from them to destroy the same. And yet, notwithstanding her corruption and depravation in this behalf: Like as in mines, the gold (although it be mixed with much clay, and furred all over with earth) shineth and glittereth through the same, and is to be seen afar off; even so nature, amid the most depravate manners and corrupt passions that we have, sheweth a certain love and tender affection to little ones. To conclude, whereas the poor many times make no care at all to nourish and rear up their children, it is for nothing else but because they fear lest having not so good bringing up nor so civil education as they ought, they should prove servile in behaviour, untaught, unmannerly, rude, and void of all good parts; and judging (as they do) poverty to be the extremity of all miseries that can befall to man, their heart will not serve them to leave unto their children this hereditary calamity, as a most grievous and dangerous disease.

OF THE PLURALITY OF FRIENDS

THE SUMMARY

[In certain discourses going before, it appeareth what a benefit and good thing friendship is. And now Plutarch addeth thereto a certain correction very necessary in regard of our nature, which is given always to bend unto extremities, and not able long to hold the golden mean. Like as therefore it bewrayeth a miserable, wretched and cursed mind to be desirous for to lead a life without acquaintance and familiarity with any person; even so to make friends (as they say) hand over head and upon every occasion is peradventure impossible, but surely not expedient. Our author, therefore, willing to reform this disordinate affection that is in many, who because they would have a number of friends, oftentimes have not one assured, sheweth that it is far better for a man to get one fast and faithful friend than a great multitude of whom he cannot make any certain account; propounding as a remedy for this covetous mind of entertaining such a plurality of friends, the examples of those who are contented with few, and by that means think their estate more sure and steadfast. After this, he treateth of the choice of friends, but especially of one. Then discourseth he of that which is requisite in true friendship, annexing thereto many proper and apt similitudes, which represent as well the benefit that sincere affection bringeth, as the hurt which cometh of feigned and counterfeit amity. This done, he proveth that to entertain a number of friends is a very hard matter, yea, and impossible; for that a man is not able to converse with them, nor to frame and sort with them all, but that he shall procure himself enemies on all sides: and when he hath enriched and adorned the same with notable examples, he proceedeth to describe what use a man is to make of friendship, and with what sort and condition of men he ought to join in amity: but this is the conclusion; That an honest and virtuous man cannot quit himself well and perform his devoir unto many friends at once.]

Socrates upon a time demanded of Menon the Thessalian, who was esteemed very sufficient in all literature, and a great schoolman, exercised in long practice of disputations, and named to be one (as Empedocles saith) who had attained to the very height and perfection of wisdom and learning, what virtue was; and when he had answered readily and boldly enough in this wise: There is a virtue (quoth he) of a young child, and of an old graybeard; of a man, and of a woman; of a magistrate, and of a

private person; of a master, and of a servant: I con you thank (quoth Socrates again, replying unto him), you have done it very well: I asked you but of one virtue, and you have raised and let fly a whole swarm (as it were) of virtues, guessing and collecting not amiss by such an answer that this deep clerk, who had named thus many virtues, knew not so much as one. And might not a man seem to scorn and mock us well enough, who having not yet gotten one friendship and amity certain, are afraid (forsooth) lest ere we be aware, we fall into a multitude and plurality of friends: for this were even as much as if one that is maimed and stark blind should fear to become either Briareus the giant, with an hundred arms and hands, or Argus, who had eyes all over his body. And yet we praise and commend excessively and beyond all measure the young man in Menander, when he saith:

> Of all the goods which I do hold,
> To think each one (I would be bold)
> Right wonderful, if I might find
> The shadow only of a friend.

But certainly this is one cause among many others, and the same not the least, that we cannot be possessed of any one assured amity, because we covet to have so many much like unto these common strumpets and harlots, who for that they prostitute their bodies so often and to so many men, cannot make any reckoning to hold and retain any one paramour or lover fast and sure unto them; for that the first comers, seeing themselves neglected and cast off by the entertainment of new, retire and fall away from them, and seek elsewhere; or rather, much after the manner of that foster-child [1] of Lady Hypsipyle:

> Who being set in meadow green
> With pleasant flowers all fair beseen,
> One after other cropp'd them still,
> Hunting this game with right goodwill:
> For why, his heart took great content
> In their gay hue and sweety scent:
> So little wit and small discretion
> The infant had, and no repletion; [2]

even so every one of us for the desire of novelty, and upon a satiety and fulness of that which is present and in hand, suffereth himself ever to be carried away with a new-come friend that is

[1] Opheltes or Archemorus.

[2] *νήπιον ἄχρηστον ἔχων*: or *νήπιον ἄπληστον ἔχων*: as it is read elsewhere.

fresh and flowering; which fickle and inconstant affection causeth us to change often and to begin many friendships and finish none; to enter still into new amities and bring none to perfection; and for the love of the new which we pursue and seek after, we pass by that which we held already and let it go.

To begin then first and foremost at antiquity (as it were) from the goddess Vesta (according to the old proverb), let us examine and consider the common fame of man's life which hath been delivered unto us from hand to hand time out of mind, by the succession and progress of so many ages from the old world unto this day, and take the same for a witness and counsellor both in this matter, we shall find in all the years past these only couples and pairs of renowned friends, to wit, Theseus and Pirithous; Achilles and Patroclus; Orestes and Pylades; Pythias and Damon; Epaminondas and Pelopidas. For friendship is indeed (as I may so say) one of these cattle that love company and desire to feed and pasture with fellows; but it cannot abide herds and droves, it may not away with these great flocks, as jays, daws and choughs do. And whereas it is commonly said and thought, that a friend is another own self, and men give unto him the name of ἕταῖρος or ἕταρος in Greek, as if a man would say, ἕτερος, that is, such another: what implieth all this, but that friendship should be reduced within the measure and compass of the dual number, that is, of twain. Well, this is certain, we can buy neither many slaves nor purchase many friends with a small piece of coin: but what may be this piece of money that will fetch friends? Surely, kind affection or goodwill, and a lovely grace joined with virtue, things, I may tell you, so rare, as look throughout the world and the whole course of nature, you shall find nothing more geason. No marvel, then, if it be impossible either to love many or to be loved of many, perfectly and in the height of affection. But like as great rivers, if they be divided into many channels, and cut into sundry riverets, carry but an ebb water, and run with no strong stream; even so a vehement and affectionate love planted in the mind, if it be parted many and divers ways, becometh enervate and feeble, and cometh in manner to nothing. This is the reason in nature that those creatures which bring forth but one and no more, love their young more tenderly and entirely than others do theirs. Homer also, when he would signify a child most dearly beloved, calleth it μοῦνον τηλύγετον, that is to say, only begotten and toward old age, to wit, when the parents have no more between them, nor ever are like or do look to have another: for mine own part, I

would not desire to have that μοῦνον, that is to say, one friend, and no more; but surely, I could wish that with other he were τηλύγετος, yea, and ὀψίγονος, that is to say, long and late first ere he be gotten, like as a son which is born toward the latter days of his parents, yea, and such a one as (who according to that proverb so common in every man's mouth) hath eaten with me a measure of salt. And are not many nowadays called friends? what else? if they have but drunk once together at the tavern, or met in the tennis court, or else turned into a tabling-house, and played at dice and hazard one with the other, or haply light in company at one hostelry and lodged together, and in one word, they do contract and gather friends in this manner out of common inns, wrestling-places and ordinary walks in the markets or public galleries. And verily, the common sort, when they see every morning in the houses of rich men and mighty rulers a great multitude and concourse of people, with much ado and hurry, giving attendance there to salute them and bid them good-morrow, kissing their right hands, and glad if they may touch them, accompanying them in manner of a guard when they go out of their lodging; oh, they imagine and repute such potentates wondrous happy, as being furnished with such numbers of friends; and yet surely, as many as they be, they shall see more flies ordinarily in their kitchens: and to say a troth, like as these flies will be gone if no cates and viands be stirring, so these friends will tarry no longer than gain and profit is to be gotten.

Certes, true and perfect friendship requireth these three things especially; Virtue, as being honest and commendable; Society, which is pleasant and delectable; and Profit, which is needful and necessary: for a man must admit and receive a friend upon judgment and after trial made, he ought to delight and joy in his company, and he is to make use of him as occasion serveth: all which three are contrary unto plurality of friends, but especially that which is principal, to wit, judgment upon a trial: and to prove this to be true, see first and foremost whether it be possible in a small time to make proof and trial of singing men or quiristers, that they may keep a good consent and harmony together in their song; or to make choice of oar-men, who shall agree in their rowing, to rise and fall with their oars just together; or of household servants such as we purpose to make the bailiffs and stewards of our goods, or the governors and bringers-up of our children? much more unlikely then is it, that we should have proof of many friends in a little space who

will be ready to enter the trial with us of all manner of fortune, and of whom every one will be prest and willing:

> Of his welfare to yield even part to thee,
> And bear like part of thy calamity.

For neither is a ship shot or haled into the sea against so many storms and tempests; nor men do set and pitch so many stakes in a palisado for the defence of any place; or in havens raise banks and oppose dams against the like dangers, or in fear of so many perils, as friendship promiseth succour and refuge for, if it be founded surely and aright upon good proof and sufficient experience. As for such as before trial and experiment made do intrude themselves, coming and going for friends, such, when they be put to the trial and touch indeed, and then found like evil money, counterfeit or light, they that go without them be glad in their mind, and as many as have them wish with all their heart and pray to God for to be rid of them. But surely this is a troublesome and cumbrous thing, neither is it an easy matter to void and cast off such a friendship as this, so displeasant and offensive: for like as if some kind of bad meat do trouble and offend the stomach, a man can neither retain and hold it still, but it will put him to pain and breed hurt and corruption, nor yet put it off and send it out in such sort as it went in, but all filthy and loathsome, as being furred over with slime, and mixed confusedly with other humours, and wholly altered from the former state; even so an ill friend either tarrieth with us still to his own grief and ours both, or else away he goeth perforce with evil will, malice and enmity, like bitter choler that is vomited out of the stomach.

It is not good, therefore, to receive and admit of friends overlightly and over-soon, nor to set our minds and knit our affections to those that come next hand and present themselves first, nor yet love those incontinently that seek to us and follow us; but rather to seek after them and follow them ourselves that are worthy of friendship: for we must not always choose that which is easy to be had and willing to be gotten; for we put by gorse and furzen bushes; we tread under foot briars and brambles though they catch hold of us and hang unto us as we walk whether we will or no; whereas we go forward to the olive-tree and the vine; and even so it is not always decent and good to entertain into our familiarity one that is ready to embrace and hang about us; but rather such ought we ourselves affectionately to embrace whom we have tried to be profitable unto us, and who

deserve that we should love and make account of them. And like as Xeuxis the painter answered sometime to those who found fault with him for his slow hand in painting: I confess indeed (quoth he) that I am long in drawing a picture, for I purpose that my work should continue long; and even so that friendship and familiarity is like to last and be preserved long which was a good while in proof and trial. Is it then no easy matter to make trial and choice of many friends together? and is it no hard thing to converse and keep company with many at once, or rather is this also impossible? for surely it is conversation and fellowship whereby we enjoy the benefit of friendship, and the most sweet and pleasant fruit of amity consisteth in keeping continual society, and daily frequenting one another's company, like unto those who uttered these words:

> For during life we will not sit
> In counsel from our friends,
> Nor yet resolve of doubtful points
> Before we know their minds.

As Homer reporteth in one place: and in another Menelaus, speaking of Ulysses, saith thus:

> Nought else us twain, our mutual love,
> And pleasures shall depart
> Until death close up both our eyes
> And strike us to the heart.

But this plurality of friends whereof we now speak, seemeth to do clean contrary; for whereas the simple amity of twain draweth us together, holdeth and uniteth us by frequent and continual conversation, fellowship, and duties of kindness,

> Much like as when the fig-tree juice,
> You put white milk among,
> It curdles, knits, and binds the same,
> No less than rennet strong,

according to the words of Empedocles; and surely desirous it is to make the semblable union and concorporation: this friendship of many separateth, distracteth and diverteth us, calling and transporting us sundry ways, not permitting the commixture and soldering (as it were) of goodwill and kind affection to grow into one, and make a perfect joint by familiar conversation, enclosing and fastening every part together. But the same anon bringeth withal a great inequality in offices and reciprocal services meet for friends, and breedeth a certain foolish bashfulness and straining of courtesy in the performance thereof, for by occasion of many friends those parts in amity, which other-

wise are easy and commodious, become difficult and incommodious: And why?

> All men do not agree in humour one,
> Their thoughts, their cares bend diversely each one;

and no marvel, for our very natures do not all incline in affection the same way; neither are we at all times conversant and acquainted with the like fortunes and adventures. To say nothing of their sundry occasions and occurrences which serve not indifferently for all our actions; but like as the winds unto sailors, they are with some and against others; sometimes on our backs and otherwhiles full in our face. And say that it may fall out so that all our friends at once do stand in need, and be desirous of one and the same help and ministry at our hands, it were very hard to fit all their turns and satisfy them to their content; whether it be in taking our advice and counsel in any negotiations, or in treating about state matters, or in suit after dignities, places of government, or in feasting and entertaining strangers in their houses: But suppose that at one and the same instant our friends, being diversely affected and troubled with sundry affairs, request all of them together our helping hand; as, for example, one that is going to sea, for to have our company in that voyage; another, who being defendant and to answer for himself in the law, to assist him in the court; and a third that is a plaintiff, to second him in his plea; a fourth, who either is to buy or sell, for to help him to make his markets; a fifth, who is to marry, for to sacrifice with him, and be at his wedding dinner; and a sixth, who is to inter a dead corpse, for to mourn and solemnise the funeral with him: in such a medley and confusion as this, as if according to Sophocles:

> A city smoked with incense sweet,
> And ring with songs for mirth so meet,
> With plaints also and groans resound,
> And all in one and selfsame stound.

Certes, having so many friends, to assist and gratify them all were impossible, to pleasure more were absurd, and in serving one's turn to reject many others, were offensive and hurtful: for this is a rule:

> Who to his friend is well affected,
> Loves not himself to be neglected.

And yet commonly such negligences and forgetful defaults of friends we take with more patience and put up with less anger and displeasure, when they shall come to excuse themselves

by oblivion, making these and such-like answers: Surely, you were but forgotten; it was out of my head, and I never thought of it: but he that shall allege thus and say: I was not your assistant in the court, nor stood to you in your cause, by reason that I attended another friend of mine in a trial of his; or, I came not to visit you whiles you had an ague, for that I was busily employed at a feast, that such a one made to one of his friends; excusing his negligence to one friend by his diligence to others; surely he maketh no satisfaction for the offence already taken, but increaseth the same and maketh it worse than before, by reason of jealousy added thereto; howbeit most men as it should seem aim at nothing else but at the profit and commodity which friendship bringeth and yieldeth from without, and never regard what care it doth imprint and work within; neither remember they that he whose turn hath been served by many friends, must likewise reciprocally be ready to help them as their need requireth. Like as therefore the giant Briareus, with his hundred hands feeding fifty bellies, had no more sustenance for his whole body than we, who with two hands furnish and fill one belly; even so the commodity that we have by many friends bringeth this discommodity withal, that we are to be employed also to many, in taking part with them of their griefs and passions, in travailing and in being troubled together with them in all their negotiations and affairs: for we are not to give ear unto Euripides the poet when he saith thus:

> In mutual love men ought a mean to keep,
> That it touch not heart root nor marrow deep,
> Affections for to change it well besits,
> To rise and fall, now hot, now cool by fits;

giving us to understand that friendship is to be used according as need requireth more or less, like to the helm of a ship, which both holdeth it hard and also giveth head, or the tackling which spread and draw, hoist and strike sail, as occasion serveth. But contrariwise, rather (good Euripides) we may turn this speech of yours to enmity, and admonish men that their quarrels and contentions be moderate and enter not to the heart and inward marrow (as it were) of the soul, that hatred (I say) and malice, that anger, offences, defiances, and suspicions, be so entertained as that they may be soon appeased, laid down and forgotten.

A better precept is that yet of Pythagoras, when he teacheth us not to give our right hand to many; that is to say, not to make many men our friends, nor to affect that popular amity

common to all, and exposed or offered to every one that cometh, which no doubt cannot chuse but bring many passions with it into the heart, among which, to be disquieted for a friend, to condole or grieve with him, to enter into troubles, and to plunge oneself into perils for his sake, are not very easy matters to be borne by those that carry an ingenuous mind with them, and be kind-hearted; but the saying of wise Chilon, a professor of philosophy, is most true, who answering unto a man that vaunted how he had not an enemy; It should seem then (quoth he) that thou hast never a friend; for certainly enmities ensue presently upon amities, nay, they are both interlaced together; neither is it the part of a friend not to feel the injuries done unto a friend, nor to participate with him in all ignominies, hatred and quarrels that he incurreth; and one enemy evermore will be sure to suspect the friend of another, yea, and be ready to malice him; as for friends, oftentimes they envy their own friends, they have them in jealousy, and traduce them every way. The oracle answered unto Timesias when he consulted about the planting and peopling of a new colony in this wise:

> Thou think'st to lead a swarm of bees full kind,
> But angry wasps thou shalt them shortly find.

Semblably they that seek after a bee-hive (as it were) of friends, light ere they be aware upon a wasps' nest of enemies: where there is a great odds and difference even in this, that the revenging remembrance of an enemy for wrong done over-weigheth much the thankful memory of a friend for a benefit received: and whether this be true or no, consider in what manner Alexander the Great entreated the friends of Philotas and Parmenio; how Dionysius the Tyrant used the familiars of Dion; after what sort Nero the emperor dealt by the acquaintance of Plautus; or Tiberius Cæsar by the well-willers of Sejanus, whom they caused all to be racked, tortured and put to death in the end. And like as the costly jewels of gold, and the rich apparel of King Creon's daughter, served him in no stead at all, but the fire that took hold thereof, flaming light out suddenly, burned him when he ran unto her to take her in his arms, and so consumed father and daughter together; even so you shall have some, who having never received any benefit at all by the prosperity of their friends, are entangled notwithstanding in their calamities, and perish together with them for company; a thing that ordinarily and most of all they are subject unto, who be men of profession, great clerks and honourable personages.

Thus Theseus, when Perithous his friend was punished and lay bound in prison,

> With fetters sure to him tied was,
> Far stronger than of iron or brass.

Thucydides also writeth; That in the great pestilence at Athens, the best men and such as made greatest profession of virtue, were they who died most with their friends that lay sick of the plague: for that they never spared themselves, but went to visit and look to all those whom they loved and were familiarly acquainted with. And therefore it is not meet to make so little regard and reckoning of virtue, as to hang and fasten it upon others, without respect, and (as they say) hand over head, but to reserve the communication thereof to those who be worthy; that is to say, unto such who are able to love reciprocally, and know how to impart the like again. And verily, this is the greatest contrariety and opposition which crosseth plurality of friends, in that amity in deed is bred by similitude and conformity: for considering that the very brute beasts not endued with reason, if a man would have to engender with those that are of divers kinds, are brought to it by force, and thereto compelled, insomuch as they shrink, they couch down upon their knees, and be ready to flee from one another; whereas contrariwise, they take pleasure and delight to be coupled with their like and of the same kind, receiving willingly and entertaining their company in the act of generation, with gentleness and good contentment: how is it possible that any sound and perfect friendship should grow between those who are in behaviour quite different, in affections diverse, in conditions opposite, and whose course of life tendeth to contrary or sundry ends? True it is that the harmony of music, whether it be in song or instrument, hath symphony by antiphony, (that is to say) the accord ariseth from discord and of contrary notes is composed a sweet tune, so as the treble and the base concur, after a sort (I wot not how), and meet together, bringing forth by their agreement that sound which pleaseth the ear: but in this consonance and harmony of friendship there ought to be no part unlike or unequal, nothing obscure and doubtful, but the same should be composed of all things agreeable, to wit, the same will, the same opinion, the same counsel, the same affection, as if one soul were parted into many bodies.

And what man is he, so laborious, so mutable, so variable, and apt to take every fashion and form? who is able to frame

unto all patterns, and accommodate himself to so many natures, and will not rather be ready to laugh at the poet Theognis, who giveth this lesson:

> Put on a mind (I thee do wish)
> As variable as polype fish,
> Who ay resemble will the roach,
> To which he nearly doth approach.

And yet this change and transmutation of the said polype or pourcuttle fish, entereth not deeply in, but appeareth superficially in the skin, which by the closeness or laxity thereof, as he draws it in or lets it out, receiveth the defluctions of the colours from those bodies that are near unto it; whereas amities do require that the manners, natures, passions, speeches, studies, desires and inclinations may be conformable; for otherwise to do were the property of a Proteus, who was neither fortunate nor yet very good and honest, but who by enchantment and sorcery could eftsoons transform himself from one shape to another in one and the same instant; and even so he that entertaineth many friends must of necessity be conformable to them all; namely, with the learned and studious, to be ever reading; with professors of wrestling, to bestrew his body with dust (as they do) for to wrestle; with hunters, to hunt; with drunkards, to quaff and carouse; with ambitious citizens, to sue and mung for offices, without any settled mansion (as it were) of his own nature for his conditions to make abode in. And like as natural philosophers do hold: That the substance or matter that hath neither form nor any colour, which they call *materia prima*, is a subject capable of all forms, and of the own nature so apt to alter and change, that sometimes it is ardent and burning, otherwhiles it is liquid and moist; now rare and of an airy substance, and afterwards again gross and thick, resembling the nature of earth; even so must the mind applied to this multiplicity of friends, be subject to many passions, sundry conditions, divers affections pliable, variable and apt to change from one fashion to another. Contrariwise, simple friendship and amity between twain requireth a staid mind, a firm and constant nature, permanent and abiding always in one place, and retaining still the same fashions; which is the reason that a fast and assured friend is very geason and hard to be found.

OF FORTUNE

THE SUMMARY

[Long time hath this proverb been current, That there is nothing in this world but good fortune and misfortune. Some have expounded and taken it thus; as if all things were carried by mere chance and aventure, or moved and driven by inconstant fortune, an idol forged in their brain, for that they were ignorant in the providence of the True God, who conducteth ordinarily all things in this world by second causes and subaltern means, yea, the very motion, will, and works of men, for the execution of his ordinance and purpose. Now Plutarch, not able to arise and reach up to this divine and heavenly wisdom hidden from his knowledge, stayeth below; and yet, poor pagan and ethnic though he were, he confuteth that dangerous opinion of fortune; shewing that it taketh away all distinction of good and evil, quencheth and putteth out the light of man's life, blending and confounding vice and virtue together. Afterwards he proveth that prudence and wisdom over-ruleth this blind fortune, by considering the mastery and dominion that man hath above beasts: the arts also and sciences whereof he maketh profession, together with his judgment and will directly opposite and contrary to all casualties and changes.]

Blind fortune rules man's life alway,
Sage counsel therein bears no sway,

said one (whoever it was) that thought all human actions depended upon mere casualty, and were not guided by wisdom. What? and hath justice and equity no place at all in this world? can temperance and modesty do nothing in the direction and managing of our affairs? Came it from fortune; and was it indeed by mere chance that Aristides made choice to continue in poverty, when it was in his power to make himself a lord of much wealth and many goods? or that Scipio, when he had forced Carthage, took not to himself, nor so much as saw any part of all that pillage? And was it long of fortune, or by casualty that Philocrates having received of King Philip a great sum of gold, bought therewith harlots and dainty fishes? or that Lasthenes and Euthycrates betrayed the city Olynthus, measuring sovereign good and felicity of man by belly-cheer, and those pleasures which of all other be most dishonest and infamous? And shall we say, it was a work of fortune that Alexander, son of Philip, not only himself forbare to touch the

bodies of the captive women taken in war, but also punished all such as offered them violence and injury: and contrariwise, came it by ill luck and unhappy fortune, that another Alexander, the son of King Priamus, slept and lay with his friend's wife, when he lodged and entertained him in his house, and not only so, but carried her away with him, and by that occasion brought all manner of calamity upon two main parts of the continent, to wit, Europe and Asia, and filled them both with those miseries that follow wars?

If we grant that all these occurrents came by fortune, what should let us, but we might as well say that cats, goats and apes be likewise by fortune given to be always lickerous, lecherous, shrewd and saucy. But in case it be true (as true it is) that the world hath in it temperance, justice and fortitude; what reason is there to say that there is no prudence and wisdom therein? Now if it be yielded that the world is not void of prudence, how can it be maintained that there should not be in it sage counsel? For temperance (as some say) is a kind of prudence; and most certain it is that justice should be assisted by prudence; or to say more truly, ought to have it present with her continually. Certes, sage counsel and wisdom in the good use of pleasures and delights, whereby we continue honest, we ordinarily do call continence and temperance; the same in dangers and travails, we term tolerance, patience and fortitude; in contracts and management of state affairs we give the name of loyalty, equity and justice; whereby it cometh to pass, that if we will attribute the effects of counsel and wisdom unto fortune, we must likewise ascribe unto her the works of justice and temperance. And so (believe me) to rob and steal, to cut purses, and to keep whores, must proceed from fortune; which if it be so, let us abandon all discourse of our reason, and betake ourselves wholly to fortune to be driven and carried to and fro at her pleasure like to the dust, chaff or sweepings of the floor, by the puffs of some great wind. Take away sage and discreet counsel; farewell then all consultation as touching affairs, away with deliberation, consideration and inquisition into that which is behoveful and expedient: for surely then Sophocles talked idly, and knew not what he spake in saying thus:

> Seek, and be sure to find with diligence,
> But lose what you forlet by negligence.

And in another place, where dividing the affairs of man, he saith in this wise:

What may be taught, I strive to learn;
What may likewise be found
I seek, for wishes all I pray,
And would to God be bound.

Now would I gladly know, what is it that men may find and what can they learn, in case all things in the world be directed by fortune? What senate house of city would not be dissolved and abolished? what counsel chamber of prince should not be overthrown and put down, if all were at the disposition of fortune? We do her wrong in reproaching her for blindness, when we run upon her as we do, blind, and debasing ourselves unto her; for how can we chuse but stumble upon her indeed, if we pluck out our own eyes, to wit, our wisdom and dexterity of counsel, and take a blind guide to lead us by the hand in the course of this our life? Certes, this were even as much as if some one of us should say, the action of those that see is fortune, and not sight of eyes, which Plato calleth φωσφόρα, that is, light-bearers: the action likewise of them that hear is nothing else but fortune, and not a natural power and faculty to receive the stroke or repercussion of the air, carried by the ear to the brain. But better it were (I trow) and so will every wise body think, to take heed how to discredit our senses so as to submit them to fortune: For why? Nature hath bestowed upon us sight, hearing, taste and smelling, with all the parts of the body endued with the rest of their powers and faculties, as ministers of counsel and wisdom. For it is the soul that seeth, it is the soul and understanding that heareth, all the rest are deaf and blind: and like as if there were no sun at all we should (for all the stars besides) live in perpetual night as Heraclitus saith; even so, if man had not reason and intelligence, notwithstanding all his other senses, he should not differ in the whole race of his life from brute and wild beasts; but now in that we excel and rule them all, it is not by chance and fortune: but Prometheus (that is to say) the use and discourse of reason is the very cause that hath given us in recompense

Both horse and ass, with breed of beeves so strong
To carry us, and ease our labour long,

according as we read in Æschylus the poet. Forasmuch as otherwise fortune and nature both have been more favourable and beneficial to most of the brute beasts in their entrance into this life, than unto man; for armed they be with horns, tusks, spurs and stings; moreover, as Empedocles saith:

The urchin strikes with many a prick,
Which grow on back both sharp and thick.

Again, there be many beasts clad and covered with scales and shag hair; shod also with claws and hard hoofs: only man, as Plato saith, is abandoned and forsaken by nature, all naked, unarmed, unshod, and without any vesture whatsoever:

> But by one gift which she hath given,
> Amends she makes, and all is even;

and that is, the use of reason, industry and providence:

> For strength of mortal man is small,
> His limbs but weak and sinews all:
> Yet by his wit and quick conceit,
> By cunning casts and subtle sleight,
> No beast in sea, or mount, so fell,
> So wild or sly, but he doth quell.

What beast more nimble, more light and swift than is the horse? but for man it is that he runneth in the race: the dog is courageous and eager in fight, but it is in the defence of man: fishes yield a most delicate and sweet meat, and swine be full of good flesh, but both of them serve as viands for the food and nourishment of man: what creature is bigger or more terrible to see to than is the elephant? howbeit he maketh man sport and pastime, he is shewed as a goodly sight in festival solemnities where people be assembled, he is taught to frisk and dance his measures, to fall upon his knees likewise and do reverence: and verily these and such-like sleights and examples are exhibited not in vain nor without good profit, but to this end, that thereby we may know how far forth reason and wisdom doth advance and lift up a man, above what things it maketh him surmount, and how by means thereof he ruleth all, and surpasseth all:

> At fight with fists we are not good,
> Nor yet in tripping feet,
> In wrestling we may well be blam'd,
> Our running is not fleet.

But in all these feats we are inferior to brute beasts, howbeit for experience, memory, wisdom and artificial sleights (as Anaxagoras said) we go beyond them all, and thereby we have the mastery and use of them, making them to serve our turns: we strain honey out of the combs of bees; we press milk out of beasts' udders; we rob and spoil them; we drive and carry them away, and whatsoever they have, insomuch as in all this there is nothing that can be justly attributed to fortune, but all proceeds from counsel and forecast.

Furthermore, the works of carpenters are done by hand of man, so are they also of smiths and braziers, of masons, builders,

gravers and imagers: in all which there is nothing to be seen that a man can say is done by chance or fortune, at leastwise when it is wrought absolutely and as it should be. And say that it may fall out otherwhiles that a good artisan, whether he be a cutter in brass or a mason, a smith or a carpenter, may meet with fortune and do some little thing by chance; yet the greatest pieces of work and the most number are wrought and finished respectively by their arts, which a certain poet hath given us secretly to understand by these verses:

> March on your way, each artisan,
> Who live upon your handicraft,
> On forth, I say, in comely train,
> Your sacred panniers bear aloft;
> You that Ergane dread and fear,
> The daughter grim of Jupiter.

For this Ergane (that is to say, Minerva) all artisans and artificers acknowledge and honour for their patroness, and not fortune. True it is that the report goes of a certain painter, who drawing the picture of an horse, had done very well in all respects, both in portraiture and also colours, save only that he pleased not himself in painting the foam and swelling froth which useth to gather about the bit as he champeth upon the same, and so falleth from his mouth when he snuffeth and bloweth; this, I say, he liked not, neither thought he it workmanly done, insomuch as he wiped it out many times and began it anew; but never was it to his mind; at last, in a pelting chafe because it would frame no better, he takes me his sponge full as it was of colours, and flang it against the table wherein he wrought; but see the wonderful chance; this sponge, lighting as it did upon the right place, gave such a print, and dashed so, as that it represented the froth that he so much desired most lively; and to my remembrance there is not in any history set down an artificial thing but this that fortune ever did.

Artificers use altogether in every piece of work their squires, their rules, their lines and levels; they go by measures and numbers, to the end that in all their works there should not be anything found done either rashly or at aventure. And verily these arts are petty kinds of prudence and so called; or rills and riverets flowing from prudence, or certain parcels rather of it, sprinkled and dispersed among the necessities of this life: and thus much is covertly signified by the fable of the fire that Prometheus divided by sparkles, which slew some here, some

there; for semblably, the small parcels and fragments of wisdom, being cut into sundry portions, are ranged into their several ranks and become arts. A wonderful thing how these arts and sciences should have no dealing with fortune nor need her help, for to attain unto their proper ends; and yet prudence, which is the greatest sovereign and most perfect of them all, yea, and the very height of all the glory, reputation and goodness of man, should be just nothing. In the winding up and letting down of the strings of an instrument, there is one kind of wisdom, and that is called music; in the dressing and ordering of meats and viands there is another, which they name cookery; in washing and scouring of clothes and garments there is a third, to wit, the fuller's craft. As for our little children, we teach them to draw on their shoes, to make them ready and dress themselves in their clothes decently, to take meat in their right hand, and to hold bread in the left; an evident argument and proof that even such small matters as these depend not of chance and fortune, but require skill and heed taking.

Shall we say then that the greatest and most principal things that are, even those that be most material and necessary for man's felicity, use not wisdom, nor participate one whit with providence and the judgment of reason? There is no man so blockish and void of understanding, that after he hath tempered clay and water together, lets it alone and goeth his way when he hath so done, looking that of the own accord, or by fortune, there will be bricks or tiles made thereof: neither is any one such a sot, as when he hath bought wool and leather, sits him down and prays unto fortune that thereof he may have garments or shoes: and is there any man so foolish, think you, who having gathered together a great mass of gold and silver, gotten about him a mighty retinue of slaves and servants, and being possessed of divers fair and stately houses with many a door within and without, and those surely locked on every side, having before him in his eyesight a sort of sumptuous beds with their rich and costly furniture, and of tables most precious, will repose sovereign felicity therein, or think that all this can make him to live happily, without pain, without grief, secure of change and alteration, if he have not wisdom withal?

There was one that cavilled upon a time with Captain Iphicrates, and by way of reproach and minding to prove that he was of no reckoning, demanded what he was? For (quoth he) you are not a man-at-arms, nor archer, nor yet targetier: I am not indeed, I confess (quoth Iphicrates), but I am he who

command all these, and employ them as occasion serveth; even so wisdom is neither gold nor silver, it is not glory or riches, it is not health, it is not strength, it is not beauty: what is it then? Surely even that which can skill how to use all these, and by means whereof each of these things is pleasant, honourable and profitable; and contrariwise, without which they are displeasant, hurtful and dangerous, working his destruction and dishonour who possesseth them. And therefore right good counsel gave Prometheus in Hesiodus to his brother Epimetheus in this one point:

> Receive no gifts at any time,
> Which heavenly Jove shall lend:
> But see thou do refuse them all,
> And back again them send.

Meaning thereby these outward goods of fortune's gift, as if he would have said: Go not about to play upon a flute, if thou have no knowledge in music; nor to read if thou know never a letter in the book; mount not on horseback, unless thou canst tell how to sit him and ride; and even so he advised him thereby not to seek for office and place of government in commonweal, wanting wit as he did; nor to lay for riches, so long as he bare a covetous mind and wist not how to be liberal; nor to marry a wife, for to be his master and to lead him by the nose: for not only wealth and prosperity happening above desert unto unadvised folk, giveth occasion (as Demosthenes said) unto them for to commit many follies; but also worldly happiness beyond all reason and demerit, causeth such as are not wise to become unhappy and miserable in the end.

OF ENVY AND HATRED

THE SUMMARY

[In this brief treatise concerning envy and hatred, Plutarch, after he hath shewed in general terms that they be two different vices, and declared withal the properties of the one and the other, proveth this difference by divers reasons and arguments ranged in their order: he discovereth the nature of envious persons and malicious; and sheweth by a proper similitude that the greatest personages in the world be secured from the claws and paws of envious persons, and yet for all that, cease not to have many enemies. And verily it seemeth that the author began this little work especially for to beat down envy, and that the infamy thereof might so much more appear, in comparing and matching it with another detestable vice, the which notwithstanding he saith is less enormous than it.]

It seemeth at the first sight that there is no difference between envy and hatred, but that they be both one. For vice (to speak in general) having (as it were) many hooks or crotchets, by means thereof as it stirreth to and fro, it yieldeth unto those passions which hang thereto many occasions and opportunities to catch hold one of another, and so to be knit and interlaced one within the other; and the same verily (like unto diseases of the body) have a sympathy and fellow-feeling one of another's distemperature and inflammation: for thus it cometh to pass, that a malicious and spightful man is as much grieved and offended at the prosperity of another as the envious person: and so we hold that benevolence and goodwill is opposite unto them both, for that it is an affection of a man wishing good unto his neighbour: and envy in this respect resembleth hatred, for that they have both a will and intention quite contrary unto love: but forasmuch as no things be the same, and the resemblances between them be not so effectual to make them all one, as the differences to distinguish them asunder; let us search and examine the said differences, beginning at the very source and original of these passions.

Hatred then, is engendered and ariseth in our heart upon an imagination and deep apprehension that we conceive of him whom we hate, that either he is naught and wicked in general to every man, or else intending mischief particularly unto our-

selves: for commonly it falleth out, that those who think they have received some injury at such an one's hand, are disposed to hate him, yea, and those whom otherwise they know to be maliciously bent and wont to hurt others, although they have not wronged them, yet they hate and cannot abide to look upon them with patience; whereas ordinarily they bear envy unto such only as seem to prosper and to live in better state than their neighbours: by which reckoning it should seem that envy is a thing indefinite, much like unto the disease of the eyes ophthalmia, which is offended with the brightness of any light whatsoever; whereas hatred is determinate, being always grounded upon some certain subject matters respective to itself, and on them it worketh. Secondly, our hatred doth extend even to brute beasts; for some you shall have who naturally abhor and cannot abide to see cats nor the flies cantharides, nor toads, nor yet snakes and any such serpents. As for Germanicus Cæsar, he could not of all things abide either to see a cock or to hear him crow. The sages of Persia called their Magi, killed all their mice and rats, as well for that themselves could not away with them but detested them, as also because the god (forsooth) whom they worshipped had them in horror. And in truth, all the Arabians and Ethiopians generally hold them abominable. But envy properly is between man and man; neither is there any likelihood at all that there should be imprinted envy in savage creatures one against another; because they have not this imagination and apprehension, that another is either fortunate or unfortunate, neither be they touched with any sense of honour or dishonour; which is the one thing that principally and most of all other giveth an edge and whetteth on envy; whereas it is evident that they hate one another, they bear malice and maintain enmity, nay, they go to war as against those that be disloyal, treacherous, and such as are not to be trusted: for in this wise do eagles war with dragons, crows with owls, and the little nonnet or tit-mouse fighteth with the linnet, insomuch, as by report, the very blood of them after they be killed will not mingle together; and that which is more, if you seem to mix them, they will separate and run apart again one from the other: and by all likelihood, the hatred that the lion hath to the cock, and the elephant also unto an hog, proceedeth from fear: for lightly that which creatures naturally fear, the same they also hate; so that herein also a man may assign and note the difference between envy and hatred, for that the nature of beasts is capable of the one but not of the other.

Over and besides, no man deserveth justly to be envied: for to be in prosperity and in better state than another, is no wrong or injury offered to any person; and yet this is it for which men be envied; whereas contrariwise, many are hated worthily, such as those whom in Greek we call ἀξιομισήτους, that is to say, worthy of public hatred, as also as many as do not fly from such, detest them not nor abhor their company. And a great argument to verify this point may be gathered from hence, namely, in that some there be who confess and take it upon them that they hate many; but no man will be known that he envieth any: for in truth, the hatred of wicked persons and of wickedness is commended as a quality in men praiseworthy. And to this purpose serveth well that which was said of Charillus, who reigned in Sparta, and was Lycurgus his brother's son, whom, when there were certain that commended for a man of mild behaviour and of a relenting and gentle nature: And how can it be (quoth he who was joined with him in the royal government) that Charillus should be good, seeing he is not sharp and rigorous to the wicked? And the poet Homer, describing the deformity of Thersytes his body, depainted his defects and imperfections in sundry parts of his person, and by many circumlocutions; but his perverse nature and crooked conditions he set down briefly and in one word, in this wise:

> Worthy Achilles of all the host
> And sage Ulysses, he hated most;

for he could not chuse but be stark naught and wicked in the highest degree, who was so full of hatred unto the best men.

As for those who deny that they are envious, in case they be convinced manifestly therein, they have a thousand pretences and excuses therefore, alleging that they are angry with the man, or stand in fear of him whom indeed they bear envy unto, or that they hate him, colouring and cloaking this passion of envy with the veil of any other whatsoever for to hide and cover it, as if it were the only malady of the soul that would be concealed and dissembled. It cannot chuse, therefore, but that these two passions be nourished and grow as plants of one kind, by the same means, considering that naturally they succeed one the other: howbeit, we rather hate those that be given more to lewdness and wickedness, and we envy such rather who seem to excel others in virtue. And therefore Themistocles (being but a youth) gave out and said that he had done nothing notable, because as yet he was not envied: for like as the flies cantharides

settle principally upon that wheat which is the fairest and come to full perfection; and likewise stick unto the roses that are most out, and in the very pride of their flowering; even so envy taketh commonly unto the best-conditioned persons, and to such as are growing to the height of virtue and honour: whereas contrariwise, the lewdest qualities that be, and wicked in the highest degree, do mightily move and augment hatred: and hereupon it was that the Athenians had them in such detestable hatred, and abhorred them so deadly, who by their slanderous imputations brought good Socrates their fellow-citizen to his death, insomuch as they would not vouchsafe either to give them a coal or two of fire, or light their candles, or deign them an answer when they asked a question; nay, they would not wash or bathe together with them in the same water, but commanded those servitors in the bains which were called Parachytæ, that is to say, drawers and laders of water into the bathing vessels, to let forth that as polluted and defiled wherein they had washed; whereupon they seeing themselves thus excommunicate and not able to endure this public hatred which they had incurred, being weary of their lives, hung and strangled themselves.

On the contrary side, it is often seen that the excellency of virtue, honour and glory, and the extraordinary success of men is so much, that it doth extinguish and quench all envy. For it is not a likely or credible matter that any man bare envy unto Cyrus or Alexander the Great, after they were become the only lords and monarchs of the whole world: but like as the sun, when he is directly and plumb over the head or top of anything, causeth either no shadow at all, or the same very small and short, by the reason that his light overspreadeth round about; even so, when the prosperity of a man is come to the highest point and have gotten over the head of envy, then the said envy retireth and is either gone altogether, or else drawn within a little room by reason of that brightness overspreading it: but contrariwise the grandence of fortune and puissance in the enemies doth not one jot abbreviate or allay the hatred of their evil-willers; and that this is true may appear by the example of Alexander above named, who had not one that envied him, but many enemies he found, and those malicious, and by them in the end he was traitorously forlayed and murdered.

Semblably, adversities may well stay envy and cause it cease, but enmity and hatred they do not abolish; for men never give over to despite their enemies, no, not when they are brought

low and oppressed with calamities; whereas you shall not see one in misery envied. But most true is that saying found of a certain sophister or great professor in our days: That envious persons of all other be ever pitiful and delight most in commiseration: so that herein lieth one of the greatest differences between these two passions; that hatred departeth not from those persons of whom it hath once taken hold, neither in the prosperity nor adversity of those whom they hate; whereas envy doth avoid and vanish away to nothing upon extremity as well of the one as the other.

Over and besides, we may the better discover the difference also of them by the contraries: for hatred, enmity, and malice cease presently so soon as a man is persuaded that he hath caught no harm nor sustained injury by the party; or when he hath conceived an opinion that such as he hated for their lewdness are reformed and become honest men; or thirdly, if he have received some pleasure or good turn at their hand: for evermore the last favour that is shewed (as Thucydides saith), though it be less than many others, yet if it come in season and a good time, is able to do out a greater offence taken before. Now of these three causes before specified, the first doth not wash away envy; for say that men were persuaded at the first that they received no wrong at all; yet they give not over for all that to bear envy still: and as for the two later, they do irritate and provoke it the rather: for such as they esteem men of quality and good worth, those they do eye-bite more than before, as having virtue the greatest good that is; and notwithstanding that they do reap commodity and find favour at their hands who prosper more than they, yet they grieve and vex thereat, envying them still both for their good mind to benefit them, and for their might and ability to perform the same; for that the one proceedeth from virtue, and the other from an happy estate, both which are good things.

We may therefore conclude that envy is a passion far different from hatred, since it is so that wherewith the one is appeased and mollified, the other is made more exasperate and grievous. But let us consider a little in the end the scope and intention as well of the one as the other: Certes, the man that is malicious purposeth fully to do him a mischief whom he hateth; so that this passion is defined to be a disposition and forward will to spy out an occasion and opportunity to wait another a shrewd turn; but surely this is not in envy: for many there be who have an envious eye to their kinsfolk and companions, whom they would

not for all the good in the world see either to perish or to fall into any grievous calamity; only they are grieved to see them in such prosperity, and would impeach what they can their power, and eclipse the brightness of their glory; marry, they would not procure nor desire their utter overthrow, nor any distresses remediless or extreme miseries; but it would content and suffice them to take down their height, and as it were the upmost garret or turret of an high house which overlooketh them.

HOW A MAN MAY RECEIVE PROFIT BY HIS ENEMIES

THE SUMMARY

[AMONG the dangerous effects of envy and hatred, this is not the least nor one of the last, that they shoot (as it were) from within our adversaries, for to slide and enter into us and take possession in our hearts, making us believe that we shall impeach one evil by another; which is as much as to desire to cleanse one ordure by a new, and to quench a great fire by putting into it plenty of oil. As for hatred, it hath another effect nothing less pernicious, in that it maketh us blind, and causeth us that we cannot tell at which end or turning to take our enemies, nor know ourselves how to re-enter into the way of virtue. Plutarch, willing to cut off such effects by the help of moral philosophy, taketh occasion to begin this discourse with a sentence of Xenophon; and proveth in the first place by divers similitudes: That a man may take profit by his enemies: and this he layeth abroad in particulars, shewing that their ambushes and inquisitions serve us in very great stead. After this, he teacheth us the true way how to be revenged of those that hate us, and what we ought to consider in blaming another. Now forasmuch as our life is subject to many injuries and calumniations, he instructeth us how a man may turn all to his own commodity: which done, he presenteth four remedies and expedient means against their slanderous language, and how we should confound our enemies: The first is, To contain our own tongues, without rendering evil for evil; the second is, To do them good, to love and praise their virtues; the third, To outgo them in well-doing; and the last, To provide that virtue remain always on our side, in such sort, that if our enemies be vicious, yet we persist in doing good; and if they carry some shew and appearance of goodness, we endeavour to be indeed and without all comparison better than they.]

I SEE that you have chosen by yourself (O Cornelius Pulcher) the meetest course that may be in the government of commonwealth; wherein having a principal regard unto the weal-public, you shew yourself most gracious and courteous in private to all those that have access and repair unto you. Now forasmuch as a man may well find some country in the world wherein there is no venomous beast, as it is written of Candie, but the management and administration of state affairs was never known yet to this day clear from envy, jealousy, emulation, and contention,

passions of all other most apt to engender and breed enmities, unto which it is subject; for that if there were nothing else, even amity and friendship itself is enough to entangle and encumber us with enmities; which wise Chilon the sage knowing well enough, demanded upon a time of one (who vaunted that he had no enemies) whether he had not a friend. In regard hereof a man of state and policy, in mine opinion (among many other things wherein he ought to be well studied) should also thoroughly know what belongeth to the having of enemies, and give good ear unto the saying of Xenophon, namely: That a man of wit and understanding is to make his profit and benefit by his enemies. And therefore, having gathered into a pretty treatise that which came into my mind of late, to discourse and dispute upon this matter, I have sent unto you written and penned in the very same terms as they were delivered, having this eye and regard as much as possible I could, not to repeat anything of that which heretofore I had written touching the politic precepts of governing the weal-public, for that I see that you have that book often in your hand.

Our forefathers in the old world contented themselves in this: that they might not be wounded or hurt by strange and savage beasts brought from foreign countries, and this was the end of all those combats that they had against such wild beasts; but those who came after have learned, moreover, how to make use of them; not only take order to keep themselves from receiving any harm or damage by them; but (that which more is) have the skill to draw some commodity from them, feeding of their flesh, clothing their bodies with their wool and hair, curing and healing their maladies with their gall and rennet, arming themselves with their hides and skins; insomuch as now from henceforth it is to be feared (and not without good cause) lest if beasts should fail, and that there were none to be found of men, their life should become brutish, poor, needy, and savage. And since it is so, that whereas other men think it sufficient not to be offended or wronged by their enemies, Xenophon writeth: That the wise reap commodity by their adversaries; we have no reason to derogate anything from his credit, but to believe him in so saying, yea, and we ought to search for the method and art to attain and reach unto that benefit, as many of us (at leastwise) as cannot possibly live in this world without enemies.

The husbandman is not able with all his skill to make all sort of trees to cast off their wild nature, and become gentle and

domestical. The hunter cannot with all his cunning make tame and tractable all the savage beasts of the forest; and therefore they have sought and devised other means and uses to make the best of them; the one finding good in barren and fruitless plants, the other in wild and savage beasts. The water of the sea is not potable, but brackish and hurtful unto us, howbeit, fishes are nourished therewith, and it serveth man's turn also to transport passengers (as in a waggon) into all parts, and to carry whatsoever a man will. When the satyr would have kissed and embraced fire the first time that ever he saw it, Prometheus admonished him and said:

> Thou wilt bewail thy goat's beard soon,
> If thou it touch, 'twill burn anon;

but it yieldeth light and heat, and is an instrument serving all arts, to as many as know how to use it well; semblably, let us consider and see whether an enemy, being otherwise harmful and intractable, or at leastwise hard to be handled, may not in some sort yield as it were a handle to take hold by, for to touch and use him so as he may serve our turn and minister unto us some commodity. For many things there are besides which be odious, troublesome, cumbrous, hurtful, and contrary unto those that have them or come near unto them; and yet you see that the very maladies of the body give good occasion unto some for to live at rest and repose; I mean sequestered from affairs abroad, and the travails presented unto others by fortune, have so exercised them that they are become thereby strong and hardy: and to say more yet, banishment and loss of goods hath been the occasion unto divers, yea, and a singular means to give themselves to their quiet study and to philosophy; like as Diogenes and Crates did in times past. Zeno himself, when news came unto him that his ship wherein he did venture and traffic was split and cast away: Thou hast done well by me, fortune (quoth he), to drive me again to my scholar's weed. For like as those living creatures which are of a most sound and healthful constitution, and have besides strong stomachs, are able to concoct and digest the serpents and scorpions which they devour; nay, some of them there be which are nourished of stones, scales, and shells, converting the same into their nutriment by the strength and vehement heat of their spirits; whereas such as be delicate, tender, soft, and crazy, are ready to cast and vomit if they taste a little bread only, or do but sip of wine; even so foolish folk do mar and corrupt even friendship

and amity; but those that are wise can skill how to use enmities to their commodity, and make them serve their turns.

First and foremost therefore, in my conceit, that which in enmity is most hurtful may turn to be most profitable unto such as be wary and can take good heed: and what is that, you will say? Thine enemy, as thou knowest well enough, watcheth continually, spying and prying into all thine actions, he goeth about viewing thy whole life, to see where he may find any vantage to take hold of thee, and where thou liest open that he may assail and surprise thee; his sight is so quick that it pierceth not only through an oak, as Lynceus did, or stones and shells; but also it goeth quite through thy friend, thy domestical servants, yea, and every familiar of thine with whom thou daily dost converse, for to discover as much as possibly he can what thou doest or goeth about; he soundeth and searcheth by undermining and secret ways what thy designs and purposes be. As for our friends, it chanceth many times that they fall extreme sick, yea, and die thereupon before we know of it, whiles we defer and put off from day to day to go and visit them, or make small reckoning of them; but as touching our enemies we are so observant, that we curiously inquire and hearken even after their very dreams; the diseases, the debts, the hard usage of men to their own wives, and the untoward life between them, are many times more unknown unto those whom they touch and concern than unto their enemy; but above all, he sticketh close unto thy faults, inquisitive he is after them and those he traceth especially: and like as the geirs or vultures fly unto the stinking scent of dead carrions and putrefied carcases, but they have no smell or scent at all of bodies sound and whole; even so those parts of our life which are diseased, naught and ill-affected, be they that move an enemy; to these leap they in great haste who are our ill-willers, these they seize upon, and are ready to worry and pluck in pieces; and this it is that profiteth us most, in that it compelleth us to live orderly, to look unto our steps that we tread not awry, that we neither do nor say ought inconsiderately or rashly; but always keep our life unblamable, as if we observed a most strict and exquisite diet; and verily, this heedful caution, repressing the violent passions of our mind in this sort, and keeping reason at home within doors, engendereth a certain studious desire, an intention and will to live uprightly and without touch: for like as those cities by ordinary wars with their neighbour cities, and by continual expeditions and voyages,

learning to be wise, take a love at length unto good laws and sound government of state; even so they that by occasion of enmity be forced to live soberly, to save themselves from the imputation of idleness and negligence, yea, and to do everything with discretion and to a good and profitable end, through use and custom shall be brought by little and little (ere they be aware) unto a certain settled habit that they cannot lightly trip and do amiss, having their manners framed in passing good order, with the least helping hand of reason and knowledge beside; for they who have evermore readily before their eyes this sentence:

> This were alone for Priamus,
> And his sons likewise all,
> Oh, how would they rejoice at heart,
> In case this should befall,

certes, would quickly be diverted, turned and withdrawn from such things, whereat their enemies are wont to joy and laugh a good: see we not many times stage players, chanters, musicians, and such artificers in open theatres, who serve for the celebration of any solemnity unto Bacchus or other gods, to play their parts carelessly, to come unprovided, and to carry themselves I know not how negligently, nothing forward to shew their cunning and do their best, when they are by themselves alone and no other of their own profession in place? but if it chance that there be emulation and contention between them and other concurrents who shall do best, then you shall see them not only to come better prepared themselves, but also with their instruments in very good order; then shall you perceive how they will bestir themselves in trying their strings, in tuning their instruments more exactly, and in fitting everything about their flutes and pipes, and assaying them. He then who knoweth that he hath an enemy ready and provided to be the concurrent in his life, and the rival of his honour and reputation, will look better to his ways and stand upon his own guard; he will (I say) sit fast and look circumspectly about him to all matters, ordering his life and behaviour in better sort: for this is one of the properties of vice, that when we have offended and trespassed, we have more reverence and stand rather in awe of our enemies lest we be shamed by them than of our friends. And therefore, Scipio Nasica, when some there were that both thought and gave out that the Roman estate was now settled and in safety, considering that the Carthaginians, who were wont to make head against them and keep them occupied, were now vanquished and de-

feated, the Athenians likewise subdued and brought under subjection: Nay, marry (quoth he), for it is clean contrary, and even now are we in greatest danger, being at this pass that we have left ourselves none to fear, none to reverence.

And hereto, moreover, accordeth well the answer that Diogenes made, like a philosopher and a man of state indeed: One asked him how he should be revenged of his enemy: Marry (quoth he), by being a virtuous and honest man thyself. Men seeing the horses of their enemies highly accounted of, or their hounds praised and commended, do grieve thereat, if they perceive also their land well tilled and husbanded, or their gardens in good order, fresh, and flowering, they fetch a sigh and sorrow for the matter. What (think you then) will your enemy do? how will he fare, when you shall be seen a just man, wise and prudent, honest and sober, in words well advised and commendable, in deeds pure and clean, in diet neat and decent?

> Reaping the fruit of wisdom and prudence,
> Sown in deep furrow of heart and conscience,
> From whence there spring and bud continually
> Counsels full sage, with fruits abundantly.

Pindarus the poet said: That those who are vanquished and put to foil, are so tongue-tied that they cannot say a word; howbeit, this is not simply true, nor holdeth in all, but in such as perceive themselves overcome by their enemies, in diligence, goodness, magnanimity, humanity, bounty, and beneficence: for these be the things (as Demosthenes saith) which stent the tongue, close up the mouth, stop the wind-pipes and the breath, and in one word, cause men to be silent and dumb.

> Resemble not lewd folk, but them outgo
> In virtuous deeds, for this thou mayst well do.

Wouldest thou do thine enemy who hateth thee a great displeasure indeed? Never call him by way of reproach, buggerer, wanton, lascivious, ruffian, scurrile scoffer, or covetous micher; but take order with thyself to be an honest man every way, chaste, continent, true in deed and word, courteous and just to all those that deal with thee: but if thou be driven to let fall an opprobrious speech, and to revile thine enemy, then take thou great heed afterwards that thou come not near in any wise to those vices which thou reproachest him with, enter into thyself, and examine thine own conscience, search all the corners thereof, look that there be not in thy soul some putrefied matter and rotten corruption, for fear lest thine own vice within may

hit thee home, and requite thee again with this verse out of the tragical poet:

> A leech he is, others to cure,
> Pester'd himself with sores impure.

If thou chance to upbraid thine enemy with ignorance, and call him unlearned, take thou greater pains at thy book, love thou thy study better, and get more learning: if thou twit him with cowardice, and name him dastard, stir up the vigour of thine own courage the rather, and shew thyself a man so much the more; hast thou given him the terms of beastly whoremaster or lascivious lecher, wipe out of thy heart the least taint and spot that remaineth hidden therein of concupiscence and sensuality; for nothing is there more shameful or causeth greater grief of heart, than an opprobrious and reproachful speech returned justly upon the author thereof. And as it seemeth that the reverberation of a light doth more offence unto the feeble eyes, even so those reproaches which are retorted and sent back again by the truth, upon a man that blazed them before, are more offensive: for no less than the north-east wind Cæcias doth gather unto it clouds, so doth a bad life draw unto it opprobrious speeches; which Plato knowing well enough, whensoever he was present in place, and saw other men do any unseemly or dishonest thing, was wont to retire apart, and say thus secretly unto himself: *Do not I also labour otherwhile of this disease?* Moreover, he that hath blamed and reproached the life of another, if presently withal he would go and examine his own, reforming the same accordingly, redressing and amending all that he finds amiss, until he have brought it to a better state, shall receive some profit by that reproving and reviling of his; otherwise it may both seem (as it is no less indeed) a vain and unprofitable thing.

Commonly men cannot choose but laugh when they see either a bald-pate or a hunch-back to taunt and scoff at others for the same defects or deformities; and so in truth, it were a ridiculous thing and a mere mockery, to blame or reproach another in that for which he may be mocked and reproached himself. Thus Leo the Byzantine cut one home that was crumped-shouldered and hunched-backed, when he seemed to hit him in the teeth with his dim and feeble eyesight: Dost thou twit me (quoth he) by any imperfection of nature incident unto a man, whenas thyself art marked from heaven, and carriest the divine vengeance upon thy back? Never then reprove thou an adulterer, if thyself be an unclean wanton with boys; nor seem thou to upbraid one

with prodigality, if thou be a covetous miser thyself. Alcmæon reviled Adrastus (upon a time) in this wise: Thou

> A sister hast by parents twain,
> Whose hands her husband dear have slain.

But what answered Adrastus? He objected not unto him the crime of another, but payeth him home with his own, after this manner:

> But thou thyself hast murder'd
> Thine own kind mother, who thee bred.

In like sort, when Domitius (upon a time) seemed to reproach Crassus, saying: Is it not true, that when your lamprey was dead which was kept full daintily for you in a stew, you wept therefore? Crassus presently came upon him again with this bitter reply: And is it not true, that you, when you followed three wives of yours one after another to their funeral fire, never shed tear for the matter? It is not so requisite or necessary iwis (as the vulgar sort do think) that he who checketh and rebuketh another should have a ready wit of his own and a natural gift in doing it, or a loud and big voice, or an audacious and bold face; no, but such an one he ought to be, that cannot be noted and taxed with any vice: for it should seem that Apollo addressed this precept of his [*Know thyself*] to no person so much as to him who would blame and find fault with another; for fear lest such men, in speaking to others what they would, hear that again which they would not. For it happeneth ordinarily as Sophocles saith: That such an one

> Who lets his tongue run foolishly,
> In noting others bitterly,
> Shall hear himself (unwillingly)
> The words he gave so wilfully.

Lo, what commodity and profit ensueth upon reproaching an enemy!

Neither cometh there less good and advantage unto a man by being reproached by another, and hearing himself reviled by his enemies: and therefore it was well and truly said of Antisthenes, that such men as would be saved and become honest another day, ought of necessity to have either good friends, or most spiteful and bitter enemies: for as they with their kind remonstrances and admonïtions, so these with their reproachful terms were like to reform their sinful life. But forasmuch as amity and friendship nowadays speaketh with a small and low voice when faults should freely be reproved, and is very audible and full of words in flattering, altogether mute and dumb in rebukes

and chastisements; but what remaineth now but that we should hear the truth from the mouth of our enemies? much like unto Telephus, who for default of a physician that was a friend to cure him, was forced to commit his wound or ulcer to the iron head of his enemy's spear for to be healed; and even so those that have no well-willers that dare freely reprove their faults, must perforce endure with patience the stinging tongue of their enemy and evil-willer in chastising and rebuking their vices, not regarding so much the intent and meaning of the ill speaker, as the thing itself, and the matter that he speaketh; and look how he who enterprised the killing of Prometheus the Thessalian ran him so deep with his sword into the impostume or swelling botch which he had about him, that he let forth the corruption, and saved his life by the breaking and issue thereof; even so for all the world it falleth out many times that a reproachful speech delivered in anger or upon evil will is the cause of healing some malady of the soul, either hidden or unknown altogether, or else neglected: but the most part of those who are in this manner reproached, never consider whether the vice wherewith they are touched be in them or no, but they look rather if they can find some other vice to object unto him who hath thus challenged them; and much like unto wrestlers, they never wipe away their own dust, that is to say, the reproaches that be fastened upon themselves, and wherewith they be defamed, but they bestrew one another with dust, and afterwards trip up one another's heels, and tumble down one upon another, weltering in the same, and soiling one another therewith: whereas indeed it behoved rather that a man when he findeth himself tainted by his enemy, to endeavour for to do away that vice wherewith he is noted and defamed, much rather than to fetch out any spot or stain out of his garment which hath been shewed him: and although there be charged upon us some slanderous imputation that is not true, yet nevertheless we are to search into the occasion whereupon such an opprobrious speech might arise and proceed, yea, and take heed we must and fear, lest ere we be aware we commit the like or come near unto that which hath been objected unto us.

Thus, for example sake, Lacydes, king of the Argives, for that he did wear his hair curiously set, in manner of a peruke, and because his gait or manner of going seemed more delicate and nice than ordinary, grew into an ill name and obloquy of effeminate wantonness. And Pompeius the Great could not avoid the like suspicion, because he used otherwhiles to scratch

his head with one finger only, and yet otherwise he was so far from feminine wantonness and incontinence as any man in the world. Crassus was accused for to have had carnal company with one of the religious nuns or votaries of Vesta, for that being desirous to purchase of her a fair piece of land and house of pleasure which she had, he resorted oftentimes privately unto her, spake with her apart, and perhaps made court unto her for to have her goodwill in that respect only. Posthumia likewise, another vestal virgin, for that she was given much to laugh upon a small occasion, and withal would not stick to entertain talk with men, more boldly peradventure than became a maiden of her profession, was so deeply suspected of incontinence, that she was brought judicially into question about it, howbeit found unguilty, and acquit she was; but when Spurius Minutius, the high-priest for the time being, assoiled her and pronounced the sentence of her absolution, minding to dismiss her of the court, he gave her a gentle admonition by the way, that from thenceforward she should forbear to use any words less modest and chaste than the carriage of her life was. Themistocles likewise, notwithstanding he was most innocent indeed, was called into question for treason because he entertained amity with Pausanias, sent and wrote oftentimes unto him, and so by that means gave suspicion that he minded to betray all Greece.

Whenas therefore thou art charged with a false crimination by thine enemy, thou must not neglect it and make small account thereof because it is not true, but rather look about thee and examine what hath been done or said, either by thee or any one of those who affect and love thee, or converse with thee, sounding and tending any way to that imputation which might give occasion or likelihood thereof, and carefully to beware and avoid the same: for if by adverse and heavy fortune whereunto others have inconsiderately fallen, they are dearly taught what is good for them, as Merope saith in one tragedy:

> Fortune hath taken for her salary
> My dearest goods of which I am bereft,
> But me she taught by that great misery
> For to be wise, and so she hath me left:

what should let or hinder us, but that we may learn by a master that costeth us nought, nor taketh nothing for his teaching (even our enemy) to profit and learn somewhat that we knew not before? for an enemy perceiveth and findeth in us many things more than a friend, by reason that (as Plato saith)

that which loveth is always blind in the thing that is loved; whereas he who hateth us, besides that he is very curious and inquisitive into our imperfections, he is not meal-mouthed (as they say), nor will spare to speak, but is ready enough to divulge and blaze all abroad. King Hiero chanced upon a time, being at words with one of his enemies, to be told in reproachful manner by him of his stinking breath; whereupon being somewhat dismayed in himself, he was no sooner returned home to his own house but he chid his wife: How comes this to pass (quoth he)? what say you to it? how happeneth it that you never told me of it? The woman being a simple, chaste, and harmless dame: Sir (saith she), I had thought all men's breath had smelled so. Thus it is plain that such faults as be object and evident to the senses, gross and corporal, or otherwise notorious to the world, we know by our enemies sooner than by our friends and familiars.

Over and besides, as touching the continence and holding of the tongue, which is not the least point of virtue, it is not possible for a man to rule it always, and bring it within the compass and obedience of reason, unless by use and exercise, by long custom and painful labour he have tamed and mastered the worst passions of the soul, such as anger is: for a word that hath escaped us against our wills, which we would gladly have kept in; of which Homer saith thus:

> Out of the mouth a word did fly
> For all the range of teeth fast-by.

And a speech that we let fall at aventure (a thing happening oftentimes, and especially unto those whose spirits are not well exercised, and who want experience, who run out, as it were, and break forth into passions), this (I say) is ordinary with such as be hasty and choleric, whose judgment is not settled and staid, or who are given to a licentious course of life: for such a word, being (as divine Plato saith) the lightest thing in the world, both gods and men have many a time paid a most grievous and heavy penalty; whereas silence is not only (as Hippocrates saith) good against thirst, but also is never called to account, nor amerced to pay any fine; and that which more is, in the bearing and putting up of taunts and reproaches, there is observed in it a kind of gravity beseeming the person of Socrates, or rather the magnanimity of Hercules, if it be true that the poet said of him:

> Of bitter words he less account did make
> Than doth the fly, which no regard doth take.

Neither verily is there a thing of greater gravity, or simply better, than to hear a malicious enemy to revile, and yet not to be moved nor grow into passions therewith:

> But to pass by a man that loves to rail,
> As rock in sea, by which we swim or sail.

Moreover, a greater effect will ensue upon this exercise of patience, if thou canst accustom thyself to hear with silence thine enemy whiles he doth revile; for being acquainted therewith, thou shalt the better endure the violent fits of a curst and shrewd wife chiding at home; to hear also without trouble the sharp words of friend or brother; and if it chance that father or mother let fly bitter rebukes at thee or beat thee, thou wilt suffer all, and never shew thyself displeased and angry with them. For Socrates was wont to abide at home Xantippe his wife, a perilous shrewd woman and hard to be pleased, to the end that he might with more ease converse with others, being used to endure her curstness. But much better it were for a man to come with a mind prepared and exercised beforehand with hearing the scoffs, railing language, angry taunts, outrageous and foul words of enemies and strangers, and that without anger and shew of disquietness, than of his domestical people within his own house. Thus you see how a man may shew his meekness and patience in enmities; and as for simplicity, magnanimity and a good nature indeed, it is more seen here than in friendship: for it is not so honest and commendable to do good unto a friend, as dishonest, not to succour him when he standeth in need and requesteth it.

Moreover, to forbear to be revenged of an enemy if opportunity and occasion is offered, and to let him go when he is in thy hands, is a point of great humanity and courtesy; but him that hath compassion of him when he is fallen into adversity, succoureth him in distress, at his request is ready for to shew goodwill to his children, and an affection to sustain the state of his house and family being in affliction; whosoever doth not love for this kindness, nor praise the goodness of his nature:

> Of colour black (no doubt) and tincture sweart,
> Wrought of stiff steel or iron he hath an heart,
> Or rather forg'd out of the diament,
> Which will not stir hereat, nor once relent.

Cæsar commanded that the statues erected in the honour of Pompeius, which had been beaten down and overthrown, should be set up again; for which act Cicero said thus unto him: In rearing the images of Pompeius, O Cæsar, thou hast pitched and

erected thine own. And therefore we ought not to be sparing of praise and honour in the behalf of an enemy, especially when he deserveth the same; for by this means the party that praiseth shall win the greater praise himself; and besides, if it happen again that he blame the said enemy, his accusation shall be the better taken, and carry the more credit, for that he shall be thought not so much to hate the person as disallow and mislike his action.

But the most profitable and goodliest matter of all is this: That he who is accustomed to praise his enemies, and neither to grieve nor envy at their welfare, shall the better abide the prosperity of his friend, and be furthest off from envying his familiars in any good success or honour that by well-doing they have achieved. And is there any other exercise in the world that can bring greater profit unto our souls, or work a better disposition and habit in them, than that which riddeth us of emulation and the humour of envy? For like as in a city wherein there be many things necessary, though otherwise simply evil, after they have once taken sure footing and are by custom established in manner of a law, men shall hardly remove and abolish, although they have been hurt and endamaged thereby; even so enmity, together with hatred and malice, bringeth in envy, jealousy, contentment, and pleasure in the harm of an enemy, remembrance of wrongs received, and offences passed, which it leaveth behind in the soul when itself is gone; over and besides, cunning practices, fraud, guile, deceit, and secret forlayings or ambushes, which seem against our enemies nothing ill at all, nor unjustly used, after they be once settled and have taken root in our hearts, remain there fast, and hardly or unneth are removed; insomuch as if men take not heed how they use them against enemies, they shall be so inured to them that they will be ready afterwards to practise the same with their very friends.

If therefore Pythagoras did well and wisely in acquainting his scholars to forbear cruelty and injustice, even as far as to dumb and brute beasts; whereupon he misliked fowlers, and would request them to let those birds fly again which they had caught; yea, and buy of fishers whole draughts of fishes, and give order unto his disciples to put them alive into the water again, insomuch as he expressly forbade the killing of any tame beast whatsoever; certes, it is much more grave and decent that in quarrels, debates, and contentions among men, an enemy that is of a generous mind, just, true, and nothing treacherous, should

repress, keep down and hold under foot the wicked, malicious, cautelous, base, and ungentleman-like passions; to the end that afterwards in all contracts and dealings with his friend they break not out, but that his heart being clear of them, he may abstain from all mischievous practices.

Scaurus was a professed enemy and an accuser of Domitius judicially; now there was a domestical servant belonging to the said Domitius, who before the day of trial and judgment came unto Scaurus saying that he would discover unto him a thing that he knew not of, the which might serve him in good stead when he should plead against his master; but Scaurus would not so much as give him the hearing; nay, he laid hold on the party, and sent him away bound unto his lord and master. Cato (the younger) charged Muræna, and indicted him in open court for popularity and ambition, declaring against him that he sought indirectly to gain the people's favour and their voices to be chosen consul; now as he went up and down to collect arguments and proofs thereof, and according to the manner and custom of the Romans, was attended upon by certain persons who followed him in the behalf of the defendant, to observe what was done for his better instruction in the process and suit commenced, these fellows would oftentimes be in hand with him and ask whether he would to-day search for ought, or negotiate anything in the matter and cause concerning Muræna? If he said No, such credit and trust they reposed in the man that they would rest in that answer, and go their ways; a singular argument this was of all other to prove his reputation, and what opinion men conceived of him for his justice; but sure a far greater testimony is this, and that passeth all the rest, to prove that if we be accustomed to deal justly by our very enemies, we shall never shew ourselves unjust, cautelous, and deceitful with our friends. But forasmuch as every lark (as Simonides was wont to say) must needs have a cop or crest growing upon her head; and so likewise all men by nature do carry in their head I wot not what jealousy, emulation and envy, which is, if I may use the words of Pindarus:

> A mate and fellow (to be plain)
> Of brain-sick fools and persons vain.

A man should not reap a small benefit and commodity by discharging these passions upon his enemies, to purge and cleanse himself quite thereof, and as it were by certain gutters or channels, to derive and drain them as far as possibly he can from his

friends and familiar acquaintance; whereof I suppose Onomademus, a great politician and wise statesman in the isle Chios, was well advised, who in a civil dissension being sided to that faction which was superior, and had gotten the head of the other, counselled the rest of his part not to chase and banish out of the city all their adversaries, but to leave some of them still behind: For fear (quoth he) lest having no enemies to quarrel withal, we ourselves begin to fall out and go together by the ears; semblably if we spend these vicious passions of ours upon our enemies, the less are they like to trouble and molest our friends: for it ought not thus to be as Hesiodus saith: That the potter should envy the potter; or one minstrel or musician spite another; neither is it necessary that one neighbour should be in jealousy of another; or cousins and brethren be concurrents and have emulation one at another, either striving to be rich or speeding better in their affairs: for if there be no other way or means to be delivered wholly from contentions, envies, jealousies, and emulations, acquaint thyself at leastwise to be stung and bitten at the good success of thine enemies; whet the edge and sharpen the point (as it were) of thy quarrellous and contentious humour, and turn it upon them and spare not: for like as the most skilful and best gardeners are of this opinion, that they shall have the sweeter roses and more pleasant violets if they set garlick or sow onions near unto them, for that all the strong and stinking savour in the juice that feedeth and nourish the said flowers, is purged away and goeth to the said garlick and onions; even so an enemy drawing unto himself and receiving all our envy and malice, will cause us to be better affected to our friends in their prosperity, and less offended if they outgo us in their estate; and therefore in this regard we must contend and strive with our enemies about honour, dignities, government, and lawful means of advancing our own estates, and not only to be grieved and vexed to see them have the better and the vantage of us, but also to mark and observe everything whereby they become our superiors, and so to strain and endeavour by careful diligence, by labour and travail, by parsimony, temperance, and looking nearly to ourselves, to surpass and go beyond them; like as Themistocles was wont to say: That the victory which Miltiades achieved in the plain of Marathon brake his sleeps, and would not let him take his night's rest: for he who thinketh that his enemy surmounteth him in dignities, in patronage of high matters and pleading of great causes, in management of state affairs, or in credit and

authority with mighty men and grand seigniors, and instead of striving to enterprise and do some great matter by way of emulation, betaketh himself to envy only, and so sits still doing nothing, and loseth all his courage, surely he bewrayeth that he is possessed with naught else but an idle, vain, and enervate kind of envy.

But he that is not blinded with the regard and sight of him whom he hateth, but with a right and just eye doth behold and consider all his life, his manners, designs, words, and deeds, shall soon perceive and find that the most part of those things which he envieth were achieved and gotten by such as have them, with their diligence, wisdom, forecast, and virtuous deeds: he thereupon bending all his spirits and whole mind thereto, will exercise (I trow) and sharpen his own desire of honour, glory, and honesty, yea, and cut off contrariwise that yawning drowsiness and idle sloth that is in his heart. Set case, moreover, that our enemies by flattery, by cautelous shifts and cunning practices, by pleading of cases at the bar, or by their mercenary and illiberal service in unhonest and foul matters, seem to have gotten some power, either with princes in courts, or with the people in states and cities; let the same never trouble us, but contrariwise cheer up our hearts and make us glad in regard of our own liberty, the pureness of our life and innocency unreproachable, which we may oppose against those indirect courses and unlawful means. For all the gold that is either above ground or underneath (according as Plato saith) is not able to weigh against virtue. And evermore this sentence of Solon we ought to have in readiness:

> Many a wicked man is rich,
> And virtuous men are many poor:
> But change we never will with sich,
> Nor give our goodness for their store;
> And why? virtue is durable,
> Whereas their wealth is mutable;

much less then will we exchange the acclamations and shouts of a popular multitude in theatres, which are won with a feast; nor the honours and prerogatives to sit uppermost at a table near unto the chamberlains, minions, favourites, concubines or lieutenants-general of kings and princes. For nothing is desirable, nothing to be effected, nothing indeed honest that proceedeth from an unhonest cause: But he that loveth (according as Plato saith) is always blinded by the thing which is loved, and sooner do we perceive and mark any unseemly thing that

our enemies do. Howbeit, to conclude, neither our joy and contentment conceived by observing them to do amiss, nor our grief and displeasure in seeing them do well, ought to be idle and unprofitable unto us; but this reckoning and account we are to make of both; that in taking heed how we fall into their faults we may become better, and in imitating their good parts not worse than they.

HOW A MAN MAY PERCEIVE HIS OWN PROCEEDING AND GOING FORWARD IN VIRTUE

THE SUMMARY

[HARDLY can it be defined whether of these two extremities is more to be feared, to wit, blockish stupidity or vain presumption, considering the dangerous effects proceeding as well from the one as the other. And contrariwise, an excellent matter it is to be able for to teach men the means to avoid both extremes, and to hold the mean between. And this is the very thing that our author doth in this present treatise: for as he laboureth to disrobe as it were the lovers of virtue and turn them out of their habit of perverse ignorance, wherewith most part of the world is always clad; so he is desirous to keep them from putting on the habiliment and garments of pride and vain ostentation, that they might be arrayed with the apparel of virtue, in such sort that in taking knowledge of that good whereof they have already some part, they might endeavour and do what they can to get a greater portion from day to day, until they come unto an assured contentment wherein they may rest. Then teacheth he how to know what a man hath profited in the school and exercise of virtue, shewing that he ought to consider first, whether he recoil from vice by little and little; wherein he confuteth the opinion of the Stoics, who imagined that no man was good unless he became virtuous all at once. This done, he adjoineth four rules to know the said profit and progress in virtue, to wit, When we perceive our heart to tend unto good without any intermission: When our affection redeemeth and regaineth the time that is lost, growing so much the more, as it was before stayed and hindered: When we begin to take our whole pleasure and delight therein: lastly, When we surmount and overcome all impeachments that might turn us aside out of the way of virtue. After all this, he entereth into the matter more specially, and showeth how a man is to employ himself in the study of wisdom; what vices he ought to fly; wherein his mind and spirits should be occupied; and the profit that he is to reap and gather from philosophers, poets, and historians. Item, with what affection we ought to speak in the presence of our neighbours, whether it be publicly or in private; of what sort our actions should be; and to what end and scope we are to address and direct them, giving a lustre unto all these discourses by excellent similitudes; taxing and reproving the faults committed ordinarily by them who make a certain semblance and outward shew of aspiring unto virtue. Having thus discoursed of

these points aforesaid, he proposeth and setteth down again divers rules which may resolve us in this advancement and proceeding forward of ours in goodness, namely, That we ought to love reprehensions; to take heed even unto our dreams; to examine our passions, and so to hope well if we perceive that they wax mild and gentle to imitate good things; in no wise to hear any speech of evil; to take example by the best persons, to rejoice and be glad, to have witnesses and beholders of our goodwill and intention; and not to esteem any sins or trespasses small, but to avoid and shun them all: last of all, he closeth up his treatise with an elegant similitude, wherein he discovereth and layeth open the nature as well of the vicious as the virtuous, thereby to make the means of aspiring and attaining unto virtue so much the more amiable to each person.]

It is not possible (my good friend Sossius Senecio) that a man by any means should have a feeling in himself, and a conscience of his own amendment and progress in virtue, if those good proceedings do not daily make some diminution of his folly, but that the vice in him weighing in equal balance against them all, do hold him down

> Like as the lead plucks down the net,
> Which for to catch the fish was set.

For so verily in the art of music or grammar a man shall never know how far he is proceeded, so long as in the studying and learning thereof he diminish no part of his ignorance in those arts, but still findeth himself as unmusical and unlettered as he was before; neither the cure which the physician employeth about his patient, if it work no amendment at all, nor alleviation of the disease seeming in some sort to yield unto medicines and to slake, can procure any sensible difference and change unto a better state, before that the contrary disposition and habit be restored perfectly to the former health, and the body made sound and strong again. But certainly, as in these cases there is no amendment to be accounted of, if those that seem to amend do not perceive the change by the diminution and remission of that which weighed them down, and find themselves to incline and bend (as it were) in a balance to the contrary; even so it fareth with those that make profession of philosophy; it cannot be granted that there is any progress or sense at all of profiting, so long as the soul cast not off by little and little and purge away her folly, but until such time as she can attain (forsooth) unto the sovereign and perfect good, continueth in the meanwhile fully possessed of vice and sin in the highest degree; for by this means it would follow, if at one instant and moment

of time a wise man should pass from extreme wickedness unto the supreme and highest disposition of virtue: That he had all at once and in the minute of an hour fled vice and cast it from him fully, whereof in a long time before he was not able to be rid of one little portion.

But you know full well already that those who hold such extravagant opinions as these make themselves work enough, and raise great doubts and questions about this point, namely, how a man should not perceive and feel himself when he is become wise, and be either ignorant or doubtful that this growth and increase cometh in long process of time by little and little, partly by addition of something, and partly by subtraction of other, until one arrive gently unto virtue, before he can perceive that he is going toward it. Now if there were so quick and sudden a mutation, as that he who was to-day morning most vicious should become in the evening as virtuous; and if there ever were known to happen unto any man such a change, that going to bed a very fool and so sleeping, should awake and rise a wise man, and taking his leave of yesterday's follies, errors, and deceits, say unto them:

> My lying dreams so vain, a-day, a-day,
> Nought worth you were, I now both see and say.

Is it possible that such a one (I say) should be ignorant of this sudden change, and not perceive so great a difference in himself, nor feel how wisdom all at once hath thus lightened and illuminated his soul? For mine own part, I would rather think that one upon earnest prayer transformed by the power of the gods from a woman to a man (as the tale goes of Cæneus) should be ignorant of this metamorphosis, than he who of a coward, a fool, and a dissolute or loose person become hardy, wise, sober, and temperate; or being transported from a sensual and beastly life unto a divine and heavenly life, should not mark the very instant wherein such a change did befall. But well it was said in old time: That the stone is to be applied and framed unto the rule, and not the rule or square unto the stone. And they (the Stoics, I mean) who are not willing to accommodate their opinions unto the things indeed, but wrest and force against the course of nature things unto their own conceits and suppositions, have filled all philosophy with great difficulties and doubtful ambiguities; of which this is the greatest: In that they will seem to comprise all men, excepting him only whom they imagine perfect, under one and the same vice in general: which strange

supposition of theirs hath caused that this progress and proceeding to virtue, called Προκοπή, seemeth to be a dark and obscure riddle unto them, or a mere fiction little wanting of extreme folly; and those who by the means of this amendment be delivered from all passions and vices that be, are held thereby to be in no better state, nor less wretched and miserable, than those who are not free from any one of the most enormous vices in the world; and yet they refute and condemn their own selves; for in the disputations which they hold in their schools they set the injustice of Aristides in equal balance to that of Phalaris; they make the cowardice and fear of Brasides all one with that of Dolon; yea, and compare the folly or error of Miletus and Plato together, as in no respect different; howbeit, in the whole course of their life and management of their affairs they decline and avoid those as implacable and intractable; but these they use and trust in their most important business as persons of great worth and regard: but we who know and see that in every kind of sin or vice, but principally in the inordinate and confused state of the soul, there be degrees according to more or less; and that herein differ our proceedings and amendments, according as reason by little and little doth illuminate, purge, and cleanse the soul in abating and diminishing evermore the viciosity thereof, which is the shadow that darkeneth it, are likewise fully persuaded that it is not without reason to be assured that men may have an evident sense and perceivance of this mutation, but as if they were raised out of some deep and dark pit, that the same amendment may be reckoned by degrees in what order it goeth forward. In which computation we may go first and foremost directly after this manner, and consider whether, like as they who under sail set their course in the main and vast ocean, by observing together with the length and space of time, the force of the wind that driveth them, do cast and measure how far they have gone forward in their voyage, namely, by a probable conjecture how much in such a time and with such a gale of wind it is like that they may pass; so also in philosophy a man may give a guess and conjecture of his proceeding and going forward, namely, what he may gain by continual marching on still, without stay or intermission otherwhiles in the midst of the way, and then beginning afresh again to leap forward, but always keeping one pace, gaining and getting ground still by the guidance of reason. For this rule:

> If little still to little thou do add,
> A heap at length and mickle will be had,

was not given respectively to the increase of sums of money alone, and in that point truly spoken, but it may likewise extend and reach to other things, and namely to the augmentation of virtue, to wit, when with reason and doctrine continual use and custom is joined, which maketh mastery and is effectual to bring any work to end and perfection; whereas these intermissions at times without order and equality, and these cool affections of those that study philosophy, make not only many stays and lets in proceeding forward as it were in a journey, but that which is worse, cause going backward, by reason that vice, which evermore lies in wait to set upon a man that idly standeth still never so little, haleth him a contrary way. True it is that the mathematicians do call the planets stationary, and say they stand still, while they cease to move forward; but in our progress and proceeding in philosophy, that is to say, in the correction of our life and manners, there can be admitted no interval, no pause or cessation, for that our wit naturally being in perpetual motion in manner of a balance, always casteth with the least thing that is, one way or other, willing of itself either to incline with the better or else is forcibly carried by the contrary to the worse. If then, according to the oracle delivered unto the inhabitants of Cirrha, which willed them, if they minded afterwards to live in peace, they should make war both night and day without intermission, thou find in thyself and thine own conscience that thou hast fought continually with vice as well by night as by day, or at leastwise that thou hast not often left thy ward, and abandoned thy station in the garrison, nor continually admitted the heralds or messengers between coming from far as it were to parley and compound, to wit, pleasures, delights, negligences and amusements upon other matters, by all likelihood thou mayst with confidence and alacrity be assured to go forward and make an end of thy course behind.

Moreover, say that there fall out some interruptions and stays between, that thou live not altogether canonically and like a philosopher; yet if thy latter proceedings be more constant than the former, and the fresh courses that thou takest longer than the other, it is no bad sign, but it testifieth that by labour and exercise idleness is conquered and sloth utterly chased away; whereas the contrary is a very ill sign, to wit, if by reason of many cessations and those coming thick one after another, the heat of the former affection be cooled, languish and weareth to nothing: for like as the shoot of a cane or reed, whiles it hath the full strength and greatest force putteth forth the first stem

reaching out in length, straight, even, smooth, and united in the beginning, admitting few knots in great distances between, to stay and put back the growth and rising thereof in height; but afterwards as if it were checked to mount up aloft by reason of short wind and failing of the breath, it is held down by many knots, and those near one to another, as if the spirit therein which coveteth upward found some inpeachment by the way, smiting it back, and causing it as it were to pant and tremble; even so as many as at first took long courses and made haste unto philosophy or amendment of life, and then afterwards meet eftsoons with stumbling-blocks, continually turning them out of the direct way, or other means to distract and pluck them aside, finding no proceeding at all to better them, in the end are weary, give over, and come short of their journey's end; whereas the other abovesaid hath his wings growing still to help his flight, and by reason of the fruit which he findeth in his course goeth on apace, cutteth off all pretences of excuse, breaketh through all lets (which stand as a multitude in the way to hinder his passage), which he doth by fine force and with an industrious affection to attain unto the end of his enterprise. And like as to joy and delight in beholding of beauty present is not a sign of love beginning, for a vulgar and common thing this is, but rather to be grieved and vexed when the same is gone or taken away; even so many there be who conceive pleasure in philosophy, and make semblance as if they had a fervent desire to the study thereof; but if it chance that they be a little retired from it by occasion of other business and affairs, that first affection which they took unto it vanisheth away, and they can well abide to be without philosophy:

> But he who feels indeed the prick
> Of love that pierceth near the quick,

as one poet saith; will seem unto thee moderate and nothing hot in frequenting the philosophical school and conferring together with thee about philosophy; but let him be plucked from it, and drawn apart from thee, thou shalt see him enflamed in the love thereof, impatient and weary of all other affairs and occupations; thou shalt perceive him even to forget his own friends, such a passionate desire he will have to philosophy. For we ought not so much to delight in learning and philosophy whiles we are in place, as we do in sweet odours, perfumes, and ointments, and when we are away and separated therefrom, never grieve thereat, nor seek after it any more; but it must

imprint in our hearts a certain passion like to hunger and thirst when it is taken from us, if we will profit in good earnest and perceive our own progress and amendment; whether it be that marriage, riches, some friendship, expedition or warfare come between, that may drive him away and make separation, for the greater that the fruit is which he gathered by philosophy, so much the more will the grief be to leave and forgo it.

To this first sign of progress in philosophy may be added another of great antiquity out of Hesiodus; which if it be not the very same, certes, it cometh near unto it, and this he describeth after this sort, namely, when a man findeth the way no more difficult, rough, and craggy, nor exceeding steep and upright, but easy, plain, with a gentle descent, as being indeed laid even and smooth by exercise, and wherein now there begins light clearly to appear and shine out of darkness, instead of doubts, ambiguities, errors, and those repentances and changes of mind incident unto those who first betake themselves to the study of philosophy; after the manner of them who, having left behind them a land which they know well enough, are troubled whiles they cannot descry and discover that for which they set sail and bend their course; for even so it is with these persons who, when they have abandoned these common and familiar studies whereto they were inured before they came, to learn, apprehend, and enjoy better, oftentimes in the very middle of their course are carried round about and driven to return back again the same way they came. Like as it is reported of Sexius, a noble man of Rome, who having given over the honourable offices and magistracies in the city, for love of philosophy, afterwards finding himself much troubled in that study, and not able at the beginning to brook and digest the reasons and discourses thereof, was so perplexed that he went very near to have thrown himself into the sea out of a galley.

The semblable example we read in histories of Diogenes the Sinopian, when he first went to the study and profession of philosophy: for when about the same time it chanced that the Athenians celebrated a public solemnity with great feasting and sumptuous fare, with theatrical plays and pastimes, meeting in companies and assemblies to make merry one with another, with revels and dances all night long, himself in an odd corner of the market-place lay lapped round in his clothes, purposing to take a nap and sleep; where and when he fell into certain fantastical imaginations which did not a little turn and trouble his brains, yea, and break his heart, discoursing thus in his head: That he

upon no constraint or necessity should thus wilfully betake himself to a laborious and strange course of painful life, sitting thus by himself mopish, sequestered from all the world, and deprived of all earthly goods; In which thoughts and conceits of his he spied (as the report goeth) a little mouse creeping and running towards the crumbs that were fallen from his loaf of bread, and was very busy about them, whereupon he took heart again, reproved and blamed his own feeble courage, saying thus to himself: What sayest thou, Diogenes? Seest thou not this silly creature what good cheer it maketh with thy leavings? how merry she is whiles she feedeth thereupon? and thou (like a trim man indeed as thou art) dost wail, weep, and lament that thou drinkest not thyself drunk as those do yonder; nor lie in soft and delicate beds, richly set out with gay and costly furniture.

Now when such temptations and distractions as these be return not often, but the rule and discourse of reason presently riseth up against them, maketh head, turneth upon them suddenly again (as it were) in the chase and pursued in the route by enemies, and so quickly discomfiteth and dispatcheth the anxiety and despair of the mind, then a man may be assured that he hath profited indeed in the school of philosophy, and is well settled and confirmed therein. But forasmuch as the occasions which do thus shake men that are given to philosophy, yea, and otherwhiles pluck them a contrary way, do not only proceed from themselves by reason of their own infirmity and so gather strength; but the sad and serious counsels also of friends, together with the reproofs and contradictory assaults made upon them by adversaries, between good earnest and game, do mollify their tender hearts, and make them to bow, bend, and yield, which otherwhiles have been able in the end to drive some altogether from philosophy, who were well entered therein: It may be thought no small sign of good proceeding, if one can endure the same meekly without being moved with such temptations, or any ways troubled and pinched when he shall hear the names and surnames of such and such companions and equals otherwise of his who are come to great credit and wealth in princes' courts; or be advanced by marriages, matching with wives who brought them good dowries and portions; or who are wont to go into the common hall of a city, attended upon and accompanied with a train and troop of the multitude, either to attain unto some place of government, or to plead some notable cause of great consequence: for he that is not disquieted, astonied, or overcome

with such assaults, certain it is and we may be bold to conclude that he is arrested (as it were) and held sure as he ought to be by philosophy. For it is not possible for any to cease affecting and loving those things which the multitude doth so highly honour and adore, unless they be such as admire nothing else in the world but virtue. For to brave it out, to contest, and make head against men is a thing incident unto some by occasion of choler, unto others by reason of folly; but to contemn and despise that which others esteem with admiration, no man is able to perform without a great measure of true and resolute magnanimity: In which respect such persons, comparing their state with others, magnify themselves, as Solon did in these words:

> Many a wicked man is rich,
> And good men there be many poor:
> But we will not exchange with sich,
> Nor give our goodness for their store.
> For virtue ay is durable,
> Whereas riches be mutable.

And Diogenes compared his peregrination and flitting from the city of Corinth to Athens, and again, his removing from Thebes to Corinth, unto the progresses and changes of abode that the great king of Persia was wont to make, who in the spring season held his court at Susis; in winter kept house at Babylon; and during summer passed the time and sojourned in Media. Agesilaus hearing upon a time the said king of Persia to be named The great king: And why (quoth he) is he greater than myself? unless it be that he is more just and righteous. And Aristotle, writing unto Antipater as touching Alexander the Great, said: That it became not him only to vaunt much and glorify himself for that his dominions were so great, but also any man else hath no less cause who is instructed in the true knowledge of the gods. And Zeno, seeing Theophrastus in great admiration because he had many scholars: Indeed (quoth he) his auditory or quire is greater than mine, but mine accordeth better and makes sweeter harmony than his.

Whenas therefore thou hast so grounded and established in thine heart that affection unto virtue which is able to encounter and stand against all external things, when thou hast voided out of thy soul all envies, jealousies and what affections soever are wont either to tickle or to fret, or otherwise to depress and cast down the minds of many that have begun to profess philosophy; this may serve for a great argument and token that thou art well advanced forward, and hast profited much; neither

is it a small sign thereof if thou perceive thy language to be changed from that it was wont to be; for all those who are newly entered into the school of philosophy (to speak generally) affect a kind of speech or style which aimeth at glory and vain ostentation: some you shall hear crowing aloud like cocks and mounting up aloft, by reason of their levity and haughty humour, unto the sublimity and splendour of physical things or secrets in nature; others take pleasure (after the manner of wanton whelps, as Plato saith) in tugging and tearing evermore whatsoever they can catch or light upon; they love to be doing with litigious questions, they go directly to dark problems and sophistical subtleties, and most of them being once plunged in the quillits and quidities of logic, make that (as it were) a means or preparative to flesh themselves for sophistry: marry, there be who go all about collecting and gathering together sententious saws and histories of ancient times; and as Anacharsis was wont to say: That he knew no other use that the Greeks had of their coined pieces of money but to tell and number them, or else to cast account and reckon therewith; even so do they nothing else but count and measure their notable sentences and sayings, without drawing any profit or commodity out of them: and the same befalleth unto them which one of Plato's familiars applied unto his scholars by way of allusion to a speech of Antiphanes: this Antiphanes was wont to say in merriment: That there was a city in the world, whereas the words, so soon as ever they were out of the mouth and pronounced, became frozen in the air by reason of the coldness of the place, and so when the heat of summer came to thaw and melt the same, the inhabitants might hear the talk which had been uttered and delivered in winter; even so (quoth he) it is with many of those who come to hear Plato when they be young; for whatsoever he speaketh and readeth unto them, it is very long ere they understand the same, and hardly when they are become old men: and even after the same sort it fareth with them abovesaid, who stand thus affected universally unto philosophy, until their judgment being well settled and grown to sound resolution, begin to apprehend those things which may deeply imprint in the mind a moral affection and passion of love, yea, and to search and trace those speeches whereof the tracks (as Æsop was wont to say) lead rather in than out. For like as Sophocles said merrily upon a time, by way of derision: That he would first cut off the haughty and stately invention of Æschylus, and then abridge his affected, curious, and artificial disposition, and in the third place change

the manner and form of his elocution, which is most excellent, and fullest of sweet affections; even so, the students in philosophy, when they shall perceive that they pass from orations exquisitely penned and framed for ostentation in frequent and solemn assemblies, unto moral speeches, and those that touch the quick, as well the mild and gentle motions as the hot and violent passions of the mind, then begin they indeed to lay down all pride and vanity, and profit truly in the school of philosophy.

Consider, then, not only in reading the works of philosophers, or in hearing their lectures, first and foremost, whether thou art not more attentive to the words than to the matter; or whether thou be not carried with a great affection to those who deliver a more subtle and curious composition of sentences, than such as comprise profitable, commodious, substantial and fleshy matters (if I may so say), but also in perusing poems, or taking in hand any history, observe well and take heed that there escape thee not any one good sentence tending properly to the reformation of manners or the alleviation of passions: for like as (according to Simonides) the bee settleth upon flowers for to suck out of it the yellow honey, whereas others love only their colour or pleasant scent, and neither care nor seek for anything else thereout; even so, when other men be conversant in poems for pleasure only and pastime, thou finding and gathering somewhat out thereof worth the noting, shalt seem at the first sight to have some knowledge already thereof by a certain custom and acquaintance with it, and a love taken unto it as a good thing and familiar unto thee. As for those that read the books of Plato and Xenophon, in no other regard but for the beauty of their gallant style, seeking for nought else but for the purity of speech and the very natural Attic language, as if they went to gather the thin dew or tender moss or down of herbs: What will you say of such? but that they love physic drugs, which have either a lovely colour or a pleasant smell only; but otherwise the medicinable virtues thereof and properties either to purge the body or mitigate any pain, they neither desire to know nor are willing to use.

Moreover, such as are proceeded farther and profited more have the skill and knowledge how to reap fruit not only out of words spoken or books written, but also to receive profit out of all sights, spectacles, and what things soever they see, gathering from thence whatsoever is fit and commodious for their purpose; as it is reported of Æschylus and other such as he: For Æschylus,

being upon a time at the Isthmian games, beheld the fight of the sword-fencers that fought at sharp, and when one of the said champions had received a grievous wound, whereupon the whole theatre set up a cry, he jogging one that was by him (named Ion of Chios), See you not (quoth he) what use and exercise is able to do? the party himself that is hurt saith never a word, but the lookers-on cry out. Brasides chanced among dry figs to light upon a silly mouse that bit him by the finger, and when he had shaken her off and let her go, said thus to himself: See how there is nothing so little and so feeble but it is able to make shift and save its life, if it dare only defend itself. Diogenes, when he saw one make means to drink out of the ball of his hand, cast away the dish or cup that he carried in his budget. Lo, how attentive taking heed and continual exercise maketh men ready and apt to mark, observe and learn from all things that make any way for their good. And this they may the rather do when they join words and deeds together, not only in that sort (as Thucydides speaketh of) by meditating and exercising themselves with the experience of present perils, but also against pleasures, quarrels, and altercations in judgments about defences of causes and magistracies; as making proof thereby of the opinions that they hold, or rather by carriage of themselves, teaching others what opinions they are to hold. For such as yet be learners, and notwithstanding that, intermeddle in affairs like pragmatical persons, spying how they may catch anything out of philosophy, and go therewith incontinently in manner of jugglers with their box, either into the common place and market or into the school which young men frequent, or else to princes' tables, there to set them abroad; we are not to think them philosophers, no more than those to be physicians who only sell medicinable spices, drugs or compound confections; or to speak more properly, such a sophister or counterfeit philosopher as this resembleth the bird that Homer describeth, which forsooth, so soon as he hath gotten anything, carrieth it to his scholars (as the said bird doth in her mouth convey meat to her naked young ones that cannot fly):

> And so himself he doth beguile,
> And thereby take much harm the while,

converting and distributing naught of all that which he hath gotten to his own nourishment, nor so much as concocting and digesting the same: and therefore we ought of necessity to regard and consider well whether we use any discourse and place

our words so, that for ourselves they may do good; and in regard of others make no shew of vainglory nor ambitious desire to be known abroad, but only of an intention rather to hear, or else to teach.

But principally we are to observe whether our wrangling humour and desire to be cavilling about questions disputable be allayed in us or no, as also whether we have yet given over to devise reasons and arguments to assail others; like as champions armed with hurlbats of tough leather about their arms, and balls in their hands, to annoy their concurrents, taking more pleasure and delight to fell and astonish with one rap our adversary, and so to lay him along on the earth, than to learn or teach him: for surely modesty, mildness, and courtesy in this kind will do well; and when a man is not willing to enter into any conference or disputation, with a purpose to put down and vanquish another, nor to break out into fits of choler, nor having evicted his adversary, to be ready as they say to tread and trample him under foot, nor to seem displeased and discontent if himself have the foil and be put to the worst, be all good signs of one that hath sufficiently profited. And this shewed Aristippus very well upon a time when he was so hardly pressed and overlaid in a certain disputation, that he knew not what answer to make presently unto his adversary, a jolly bold and audacious sophister, but otherwise a brainsick fool and without all judgment: for Aristippus seeing him to vaunt himself, puffed up with vainglory, that he had put him to a *non plus:* Well (quoth he), I see that for this time I go away with the worse, but surely when I am gone I will sleep more soundly and quietly than you that have gotten the better.

Moreover, we may also prove and sound ourselves, whether we have profited or no, even whiles we speak in public place; namely, if neither upon the sight of a greater audience than we looked for we shrink not for fear and false heart, nor contrariwise be discouraged to see fewer come to hear our exercises than we hoped for; nor yet when we are to make a speech to the people, or before a great magistrate, we lose the opportunity thereof, for that we have not well premeditated thereof before, nor come provided of apt words to declare our mind, a thing that by report befell unto Demosthenes and Alcibiades: for Alcibiades, as he was passing ingenious and inventive of matter, so he wanted audacity, and was not so ready as some other to utter the same, but troubled eftsoons in his pleading and delivery of it, insomuch as many times in the very midst of his

oration he would be out and to seek for a proper and fit term to express the conception of his mind, or else to recover that word again which was slipt and escaped out of his memory. As for Homer, he had such an opinion of his own perfection and his poetical vein in the rest of all his work, that he stuck not to set down the very first verse of his poem defective in measure, and not answerable to the rules of versifying. So much the rather, therefore, likely it is that they who set nothing before their eyes, nor aim at ought else but virtue only and honesty, will make use of the present occasion and the occurrence of affairs, fall out as they will, without regard of applause, hissing or any other noise whatsoever in token of liking or disliking their speech.

Now every man ought to consider not only his own speeches, but also his actions, namely, whether they carry with them more profit and sound truth than vain pomp and ostentation; for if the true love indeed of young folk, man or woman, requireth no witnesses, but resteth in the private contentment and enjoying of their sweet delights, although the same were performed and their desires fully accomplished secretly between them without the privity of any person: how much more credible is it that he who is enamoured of honesty and wisdom, using the company and fellowship familiarly of virtue by his actions, and enjoying the same, shall find in himself without saying one word an exceeding great contentment, and demand no other hearers or beholders but his own conscience? For like as he was but a vain fool who called unto his maid in the house and cried with a loud voice: Dionysia, come and see I am not proud and vainglorious now as I was wont to be; even so he that hath done some virtuous and commendable act, and then goes forth to tell it abroad and spread the fruit thereof in every place, certain it is that such an one regards still outward vanities, and is carried with a covetous desire of vainglory, neither hath he ever had as yet a true sight indeed and perfect vision of virtue, but only a fantastical dream of her, imagining as he lies asleep that he seeth some wandering shadow and image thereof, and then afterward representeth thus unto his view that which he hath done, as a painted table to look upon.

Well, then, it is the property of him that proceedeth in virtue, not only when he hath bestowed something upon his friend, or done a good turn unto one of his familiars, for to make no words thereof; but also, when he hath given his voice justly, or delivered his opinion truly, among many others that are

unjust and untrue; or when he hath flatly denied the unhonest request, or stoutly crossed a bad motion of some rich man, great lord or mighty magistrate; or refused gifts and bribes; or proceeded so far that being athirst in the night he hath not drunk at all; or hath refused to kiss a beautiful boy or fair maiden and turned away from them coming toward him as Agesilaus did, to keep all this to himself and say nothing: For such a one as is content to be proved and tried by his own self, not setting light by that trial and judgment, but joying and taking delight in his conscience, as being a sufficient witness and beholder, both of good things and commendable actions, sheweth that reason hath turned in, to lodge and keep resistance with him, that it hath taken deep root there: and as Democritus saith: That he is well framed, and by custom brought to rejoice and take pleasure in himself. And like as husbandmen are more glad and willing to see the ears of corn hang down their heads, and bend toward the earth, than those who for their lightness stand straight, upright and staring aloft, for that they suppose such ears are empty, or have little or nothing in them, for all their fair shew; even so, among young men, students in philosophy, they that have least in them of any weight, and be most void, be those that are at the very first most confident; set the greatest countenance; carry the biggest port in their gait, and have the boldest face, shewing therein how full they are of pride in themselves, contempt of all others, and sparing of none: but afterwards, as they begin to grow on and burnish, furnishing and filling themselves with the fruits indeed of reason and learning, then and never before they lay away these proud looks; then down goes this vain pride and outward ostentation. And like as we see in vessels, whereinto men use to pour in liquor, according to the quantity and measure of the said liquor that goeth in, the air which was there before flieth out; even so to the proportion of those good things which are certain and true indeed, wherewith men are replenished, their vanity giveth place, all their hypocrisy vanisheth away, their swelling and puffing pride doth abate and fall, and giving over then to stand upon their goodly long beards and side robes, they transfer the exercise of outward things into the mind and soul within, using the sharp bit of bitter reprehension principally against themselves. And as for others, they can find in their hearts to devise, confer, and talk with them more graciously and with greater courtesy; the manner of philosophy, and reputation of philosophers, they do not usurp nor take upon them, neither do they

use it as their addition in former time; and if haply one of them by some other be called by that name, he will not answer to it; but if he be a young gentleman indeed, after a smiling and pleasant manner, yea, and blushing withal for shame, he will say thus out of the poet Homer:

> I am no god nor heavenly wight:
> Why dost thou give to me their right?

For true it is as Æschylus saith:

> A damsel young if she have known
> And tasted man once carnally,
> Her eye doth it bewray anon,
> It sparkles fire suspiciously.

But a young man having truly tasted the profit and proceeding in philosophy, hath these signs following him, which the poetess Sappho setteth down in these verses:

> When I you see, what do I ail?
> First suddenly my voice doth fail,
> And then like fire a colour red,
> Under my skin doth run and spread.

It would do you good to view his settled and staid countenance to behold the pleasant and sweet regard of his eye, and to hear him when he speaketh: for like as those who are professed in any confraternity of holy mysteries, at their first assembly and meeting together, hurry in tumultuous sort with great noise, insomuch as they thrust and throng one another; but when they come to celebrate the divine service thereto belonging, and that the sacred relics and ornaments are once shewed, they are very attentive with reverent fear and devout silence; so, at the beginning of the study of philosophy, and in the very entry (as it were) of the gate that leadeth unto it, a man shall see much ado, a foul stir, great audaciousness, insolency, and jangling words more than enough; for that some there be who would intrude themselves rudely, and thrust into the place violently, for the greedy desire they have to win reputation and credit: but he that is once within and seeth the great light, as if the sanctuaries and sacred cabinets or tabernacles were set open, anon he putteth on another habit, and a divers countenance with silence and astonishment, he becometh humble, pliable and modest, ready to follow the discourse of reason and doctrine, no less than the direction of some god. To such as these, methinks, I may do very well to accommodate that speech which Menedemus sometime in mirth spake pleasantly: Many there be that sail to Athens (quoth he) for to go to school there,

who when they come first thither seem *sophi*,[1] that is, be wise, and afterwards prove *philosophi*,[2] that is, lovers of wisdom; then of philosophers they become sophisters,[3] that is, professors and readers, until in process of time they grow to be idiots,[4] that is to say, ignorant and fools to see to: for the nearer that they approach to the use of reason and to learning indeed, the more do they abridge the opinion that they have of themselves, and lay down their presumption.

Among those that have need of physic, some that are troubled with the toothache, or have a felon or whitflaw on their finger, go themselves to the physician for to have remedy; others who are sick of an ague send for the physician home to their houses, and desire to be eased and cured by him; but those that are fallen either into a fit of melancholy, or phrensy, or otherwise be distracted in their brains and out of their right wits, otherwhiles will not admit or receive the physicians, although they came of themselves uncalled, but either drive them out of doors, or else hide themselves out of their sight, and so far gone they be and dangerously sick, that they feel not their own sickness; semblably of those who sin and do amiss, such be incorrigible and uncurable, who are grievously offended and angry, yea, and in mortal hatred with those who seem to admonish and reprove them for their misbehaviour; but such as will abide them, and are content to receive and entertain them, be in better state and in a readier way to recover their health: marry, he that yieldeth himself to such as rebuke him, confessing unto them his errors, discovering of his own accord his poverty and nakedness, unwilling that anything as touching his state should be hidden, not loving to be unknown and secret, but acknowledging and avowing all that he is charged with, yea, and who prayeth a man to check, to reprove, to touch him to the quick, and so craveth for help; certainly herein he sheweth no small sign of good progress and amendment: according to that which Diogenes was wont to say: He that would be saved, (that is to say) become an honest man, had need to seek either a good friend or a sharp and bitter enemy, to the end that either by gentle reproof and admonition, or else by a rigorous cure of correction, he may be delivered from his vices.

But how much soever a man in a glorious bravery sheweth to those that be abroad either a foul and threadbare coat or a stained garment, or a rent shoe, or in a kind of a presumptuous humility mocketh himself in that peradventure he is of a very

[1] Σοφοί. [2] Φιλόσοφοι. [3] Σοφισταί. [4] Ἰδιῶται.

low stature, crooked or hunch-backed, and thinketh herein that he doth a worthy and doughty deed; but in the meanwhile covereth and hideth the ordures and filthiness of his vile life, cloaketh the villanous enormities of his manners, his envy, maliciousness, avarice, sensual voluptuousness, as if they were beastly botches or ugly ulcers, suffering nobody to touch them, nay, nor so much as to see them, and all for fear of reproof and rebuke, certes, such a one hath profited but a little, or to speak more truly, never a whit at all; but he that is ready to encounter and set upon these vices, and either is willing and able (which is the chief and principal) to chastise and condemn, yea, and put himself to sorrow for his faults; or if not so, yet in the second place at the least can endure patiently, that another man by his reprehensions and remonstrances should cleanse and purge him; certes, evident it is that such an one hateth and detesteth wickedness indeed, and is in the right way to shake it off: and verily, we ought to avoid the very name and appearance only thereof, and to be ashamed for to be thought and reputed wicked; but he that grieveth more at the substance of vice itself than the infamy that cometh thereof, will never be afraid, but can very well abide both to speak hardly of himself and to hear ill by others, so he may be the better thereby. To this purpose may very well be applied a pretty speech of Diogenes unto a certain yonker, who perceiving that Diogenes had an eye on him within a tavern or tippling-house, withdrew himself quickly more inward, for to be out of his sight: Never do so (quoth he), for the farther thou fliest backward the more shalt thou be still in the tavern; even so a man may say of those that be given to vice, for the more that any one of them seemeth to deny his fault, the farther is he engaged and the deeper sunk in sin; like as poor men, the greater shew that they make of riches, the poorer they be, by reason of their vanity and bragging of that which they have not. But he that profiteth indeed hath for a good precedent and example to follow that famous physician Hippocrates, who both openly confessed and also put down in writing, that he was ignorant in the anatomy of a man's head, and namely, as touching the seams or sutures thereof; and this account will he make, that it were an unworthy indignity if (when such a man as Hippocrates thought not much to publish his own error and ignorance, for fear that others might fall into the like) he who is willing to save himself from perdition, cannot endure to be reproved, nor acknowledge his own ignorance and folly. As for those rules and precepts which are delivered by

Pyrrho and Bion in this case are not in my conceit the signs of amendment and progress so much as of some other more perfect and absolute habit rather of the mind; for Bion willed and required his scholars and familiars that conversed with him, to think then (and never before) that they had proceeded and profited in philosophy, when they could with as good a will abide to hear men revile and rail at them, as if they spake unto them in this manner:

> Good sir, you seem no person lewd,
> Nor foolish sot, iwis:
> All hail, fair chieve you and adieu,
> God send you always bliss

And Pyrrho (as it is reported), being upon a time at sea and in danger to be cast away in a tempest, shewed unto the rest of his fellow-passengers a porket feeding hard upon barley cast before him on shipboard: Lo, my masters (quoth he), we ought by reason and exercise in philosophy to frame ourselves to this pass, and to attain unto such an impassibility as to be moved and troubled with the accidents of fortune no more than this pig.

But consider, furthermore, what was the conceit and opinion of Zeno in this point; for he was of mind that every man might and ought to know whether he profited or no in the school of virtue, even by his very dreams; namely, if he took no pleasure to see in his sleep any filthy or dishonest thing, nor delighted to imagine that he either intended, did or approved any lewd, unjust or outrageous action; but rather did behold (as in a settled calm, without wind, weather and wave, in the clear bottom of the water) both the imaginative and also the passive faculty of the soul, wholly overspread and lightened with the bright beams of reason: which Plato before him (as it should seem) knowing well enough, hath prefigured and represented unto us what fantastical motions they be that proceed in sleep from the imaginative and sensual part of the soul given by nature to tyrannise and overrule the guidance of reason; namely, if a man dream that he seeketh to have carnal company with his own mother, or that he hath a great mind and appetite to eat all strange, unlawful, and forbidden meats; as if then the said tyrant gave himself wholly to all those sensualities and concupiscences as being let loose at such a time, which by day the law either by fear or shame doth repress and keep down. Like as therefore beasts which serve for draught or saddle, if they be well taught and trained, albeit their governors and rulers let the reins loose and give them the head, fling not out nor go

aside from the right way, but either draw or make pace forward still, and as they were wont ordinarily keep the same train and hold on in one course and order, even so they whose sensual part of the soul is made trainable and obedient, tame and well schooled by the discipline of reason, will neither in dreams nor sicknesses easily suffer the lusts and concupiscences of the flesh to rage or break out unto any enormities punishable by law; but will observe and keep still in memory that good discipline and custom which doth ingenerate a certain power and efficacy unto diligence, whereby they shall and will take heed unto themselves: for if the mind hath been used by exercise to resist passions and temptations, to hold the body and all the members thereof as it were with bit and bridle under subjection, in such sort that it hath at command the eyes not to shed tears for pity; the heart likewise not to leap and pant in fear; the natural parts not to rise nor stir, but to be still and quiet without any trouble at all, upon the sight of any fair and beautiful person, man or woman; how can it otherwise be but that there should be more likelihood that exercise having seized upon the sensual part of the soul and tamed it, should polish, lay even, reform, and bring unto good order all the imaginations and motions thereof, even as far as to the very dreams and fantasies in sleep: as it is reported of Stilpo the philosopher, who dreamed that he saw Neptune expostulating with him in anger, because he had not killed a beef to sacrifice unto him as the manner was of other priests to do, and that himself, nothing astonied or dismayed at the said vision, should answer thus again: What is that thou sayst, O Neptune? comest thou to complain indeed like a child (who pules and cries for not having a piece big enough) that I take not up some money at interest, and put myself in debt, to fill the whole city with the scent and savour of roast and burnt, but have sacrificed unto thee such as I had at home according to my ability and in a mean? Whereupon Neptune (as he thought) should merrily smile and reach forth unto him his right hand, promising that for his sake and for the love of him he would that year send the Megarians great store of rain and good foison of sea-loaches or fishes called *aphyæ* by that means coming unto them by whole sculls. Such, then, as while they lie asleep have no illusions arising in their brains to trouble them, but those dreams or visions only as be joyous, pleasant, plain, and evident, not painful nor terrible, nothing rough, malign, tortuous and crooked, may boldly say that these fantasies and apparitions be no other than the reflexions and

rays of that light which rebound from the good proceedings in philosophy; whereas contrariwise the furious pricks of lust, timorous frights, unmanly and base flights, childish and excessive joys, dolorous sorrows and doleful moans, by reason of some piteous illusions, strange and absurd visions appearing in dreams, may be well compared unto the broken waves and billows of the sea beating upon the rocks and craggy banks of the shore; for that the soul having not as yet that settled perfection in itself which should keep it in good order, but holdeth on a course still according to good laws only and sage opinions, from which when it is farthest sequestered and most remote, to wit, in sleep, it suffereth itself to return again to the old wont and to be let loose and abandoned to her passions: But whether these things may be ascribed unto that profit and amendment whereof we treat, or rather to some other habitude, having now gathered more strength and firm constancy not subject by means of reasons and good instruction to shaking, I leave that to your own consideration and mine together.

But now forasmuch as this total impassibility (if I may so speak) of the mind, to wit, a state so perfect that it is void of all affections, is a great and divine thing; and seeing that this profit and proceeding whereof we write consisteth in a kind of remission and mildness of the said passions, we ought both to consider each of them apart and also compare them one with another, thereby to examine and judge the difference: confer we shall every passion by itself, by observing whether our lusts and desires be more calm and less violent than in former time, by marking likewise our fits of fear and anger, whether they be now abated in comparison of those before, or whether when they be up and inflamed, we can quickly with the help of reason remove or quench that which was wont to set them on work or afire: compare we shall them together, in case we examine ourselves whether we have now a greater portion of grace and shame in us than of fear; whether we find in ourselves emulation and not envy; whether we covet honour rather than worldly goods; and in one word, whether after the manner of musicians we offend rather in the extremity and excess of harmony called Dorian, which is grave, solemn, and devout, than the Lydian, which is light and galliard-like, that is to say, inclining rather in the whole manner of our life to hardness and severity than to effeminate softness; whether in the enterprise of any actions we shew timidity and slackness, rather than temerity and rashness, and last of all, whether we offend rather in admiring too

highly the sayings of men and the persons themselves, than in despising and debasing them too low: for like as we say in physic it is a good sign of health when diseases are not diverted and translated into the noble members and principal parts of the body; even so it seemeth that when the vices of such as are in the way of reformation and amendment of life change into passions that are more mild and moderate, it is a good beginning of ridding them away clean by little and little.

The Lacedæmonian Ephori, which were the high controllers of that whole state, demanded of the musician Phrynis, when he had set up two strings more to his seven-stringed instrument, whether he would have them to cut in sunder the trebles or the bases, the highest or the lowest? But as for us, we had need to have our affections cut both above and beneath, if we desire to reduce our actions to a mean and mediocrity. And surely this progress or proceeding of ours to perfection, professeth rather to let down the lightest first, to cut off the extremity of passions in excess, and to abate the acrimony of affections before we do anything else, in which, as saith Sophocles:

> Folk foolish and incontinent,
> Most furious be and violent.

As for this one point, namely, that we ought to transfer our judgment to action, and not to suffer our words to remain bare and naked words still in the air, but reduce them to effect, we have already said, that is the chief property belonging to our progress and going forward: now the principal arguments and signs thereof be these; if we have a zeal and fervent affection to imitate those things which we praise; if we be forward and ready to execute that which we so much admire, and contrariwise will not admit nor abide to hear of such things as we in our opinion dispraise and condemn.

Probable it is and standeth with great likelihood that the Athenians all in general praised and highly esteemed the valour and prowess of Miltiades; but when Themistocles said that the victory and trophy of Miltiades would not give him leave to sleep, but awakened him in the night, plain it is and evident that he not only praised and admired, but had a desire also to imitate him, and do as much himself; semblably, we are to make this reckoning, that our progress and proceeding in virtue is but small when it reacheth no farther than to praise only and have in admiration that which good men have worthily done, without any motion and inclination of our will to imitate the

same and effect the like. For neither is the carnal love of the body effectual, unless some little jealousy be mixed withal, nor the praise of virtue fervent and active which doth not touch the quick, and prick the heart with an ardent zeal instead of envy, unto good and commendable things, and the same desirous to perform and accomplish the same fully. For it is not sufficient that the heart should be turned upside down only, as Alcibiades was wont to say, by the words and precepts of the philosopher reading out of his chair, even until the tears gush out of the eyes: but he that truly doth profit and go forward, ought by comparing himself with the works and actions of good men, and those that be perfectly virtuous, to feel withal in his own heart, as well a displeasure with himself and a grief in conscience for that wherein he is short and defective, as also a joy and contentment in his spirit upon a hope and desire to be equal unto them, as being full of an affection and motion that never resteth and lieth still, but resembleth for all the world (according to the similitude of Simonides):

> The sucking foal that keeps just pace,
> And runs with dam in every place,

affecting and desiring nothing more than to be wholly united and concorporate with a good man by imitation. For surely this is the passion peculiar and proper unto him that truly taketh profit by the study of philosophy; To love and cherish tenderly the disposition and conditions of him whose deeds he doth imitate and desire to express, with a certain goodwill to render always in words due honour unto them for their virtue, and to assay how to fashion and conform himself like unto them. But in whomsoever there is instilled or infused (I wot not what) contentious humour, envy, and contestation against such as be his betters, let him know that all this proceedeth from an heart exulcerated with jealousy for some authority, might and reputation, and not upon any love, honour, or admiration of their virtues.

Now, whenas we begin to love good men in such sort that (as Plato saith) we esteem not only the man himself happy who is temperate; or those blessed who be the ordinary hearers of such excellent discourses which daily come out of his mouth; but also that we do affect and admire his countenance, his port, his gait, the cast and regard of his eye, his smile and manner of laughter, insomuch as we are willing, as one would say, to be joined, soldered, and glued unto him; then we may be

assured certainly that we profit in virtue; yea, and so much the rather, if we have in admiration good and virtuous men, not only in their prosperity, but also (like as amorous folk are well enough pleased with the lisping or stammering tongue; yea, and do like the pale colour of these whom for the flower of their youth and beauty they love and think it beseemeth them, as we read of Lady Panthea, who by her tears and sad silence, all heavy, afflicted and blubbered as she was, for the dolour and sorrow that she took for the death of her husband, seized Araspes so as he was enamoured upon her) in their adversity, so as we neither start back for fear, nor dread the banishment of Aristides, the imprisonment of Anaxagoras, the poverty of Socrates, or the condemnation of Phocion, but repute their virtue desirable, lovely and amiable, even with all these calamities, and run directly toward her for to kiss and embrace her by our imitation, having always in our mouth at every one of these cross accidents this notable speech of Euripides:

> Oh, how each thing doth well become
> Such generous hearts both all and some!

For we are never to fear or doubt that any good or honest thing shall ever be able to avert from virtue this heavenly inspiration and divine instinct of affection, which not only is not grieved and troubled at those things which seem unto men most full of misery and calamity, but also admireth and desireth to imitate them. Hereupon also it followeth by good consequence, that they who have once received so deep an impression in their hearts, take this course with themselves: That when they begin any enterprise, or enter into the administration of government, or when any sinister accident is presented unto them, they set before their eyes the examples of those who either presently are or heretofore have been worthy persons, discoursing in this manner: What is it that Plato would have done in this case? what would have Epaminondas said to this? how would Lycurgus or Agesilaus have behaved themselves herein? After this sort (I say) will they labour to frame, compose, reform, and adorn their manners as it were before a mirror or looking-glass, to wit, in correcting any unseemly speech that they have let fall, or repressing any passion that hath risen in them. They that have learned the names of the demigods called Idæi Dactyli, know how to use them as counter-charms or preservatives against sudden frights, pronouncing the same one after another readily and ceremoniously; but the remembrance and

thinking upon great and worthy men represented suddenly unto those who are in the way of perfection, and taking hold of them in all passions and perplexions which shall encounter them, holdeth them up, and keepeth them upright, that they cannot fall; and therefore this also may go for one argument and token of proceeding in virtue.

Over and besides, not to be so much troubled with any occurrent, nor to blush exceedingly for shame as beforetime, nor to seek to hide or otherwise to alter our countenance or anything else about us, upon the sudden coming in place of a great or sage personage unexpected, but to persist resolute, to go directly toward him with bare and open face, are tokens that a man feeleth his conscience settled and assured. Thus Alexander the Great, seeing a messenger running toward him apace with a pleasant and smiling countenance, and stretching forth his hand afar off to him: How now, good fellow (quoth he), what good news canst thou bring me more, unless it be tidings that Homer is risen again? esteeming in truth that his worthy acts and noble deeds already achieved wanted nothing else, nor could be made greater than they were, but only by being consecrated unto immortality by the writings of some noble spirit; even so a young man that groweth better and better every day, and hath reformed his manners, loving nothing more than to make himself known what he is unto men of worth and honour; to shew unto them his whole house and the order thereof, his table, his wife and children, his studies and intents; to acquaint them with his sayings and writings; insomuch as otherwhiles he is grieved in his heart to think and remember, either that his father natural that begat him, or his master that taught him, are departed out of this life, for that they be not alive to see in what good estate he is in and to joy thereat; neither would he wish or pray to the gods for anything so much as that they might revive and come again above ground, for to be spectators and eye-witnesses of his life and all his actions.

Contrariwise, those that have neglected themselves and not endeavoured to do well, but are corrupt in their manners, cannot without fear and trembling abide to see those that belong unto them, no, nor so much as to dream of them. Add moreover, if you please, unto that which hath been already said, thus much also for a good token of progress in virtue: When a man thinketh no sin or trespass small, but is very careful and wary to avoid and shun them all. For like as they who despair ever to be rich make no account at all of saving a little expense;

for thus they think: That the sparing of a small matter can add no great thing unto their stock, to heap it up; but contrariwise, hope when a man sees that he wanteth but a little of the mark which he shooteth at, causeth that the nearer he cometh thereto, his covetousness is the more; even so it is in those matters that pertain to virtue: he who giveth not place much, nor proceedeth to these speeches: Well, and what shall we have after this? Be it so now: It will be better again for it another time: and such-like: but always taketh heed to himself in everything; and whensoever vice insinuating itself into the least sin and fault that is, seemeth to pretend and suggest some colourable excuses for to crave pardon, is much discontented and displeased; he (I say) giveth hereby good evidence and proof that he hath a house within clean and neat, and that he would not endure the least impurity and ordure in the world to defile the same: For (as Æschylus saith) an opinion conceived once, that nothing that we have is great and to be esteemed and reckoned of, causeth us to be careless and negligent in small matters. They that make a palisado, a rampier or rough mud wall, care not much to put into their work any wood that cometh next hand, neither is it greatly material to take thereto any rubbish or stone that they can meet with, or first cometh into their eye, yea, and if it were a pillar fallen from a monument or sepulchre; semblably do wicked and lewd folk, who gather, thrumble, and heap up together all sorts of gain, all actions that be in their way, it makes no matter what; but such as profit in virtue, who are already planted, and whose golden foundation of a good life is laid (as it were) for some sacred temple or royal palace, will not take hand over head any stuff to build thereupon, neither will they work by aim, but everything, shall be couched, laid, and ranged by line and level, that is to say, by the square and rule of reason: which is the cause (as we think) that Polycletus, the famous imager, was wont to say: That the hardest piece of all the work remained then to do, when the clay and the nail met together; signifying thus much: that the chief point of cunning and perfection was in the upshoot and end of all.

OF SUPERSTITION

THE SUMMARY

[It should seem that Plutarch composed this book in mockery and derision of the Jews, whom he toucheth and girdeth at in one place, and whose religion he mingleth with the superstition of the pagans; to as much purpose (I wis) as that which he delivereth in a discourse at the table, where he compareth the feast of the Tabernacles, ordained by the eternal and almighty God, with the Bacchanals and such stinking ordures of idolators; thinking verily that Bacchus was the god of the Jews. This slander of his and false calumniation ought to be imputed unto that ignorance of the true God, wherein Plutarch did remain enwrapped: yet is not he the man alone who hath derided and flouted the religion of the Jews; but such scoffs and derisions of the sages and wise men of this world, especially and above all when they are addressed against God, fall upon the head of the authors and devisers thereof, to their utter confusion. Moreover, as touching this point, that some have thought this present discourse, wherein he endeavoureth and laboureth to prove superstition to be more perilous than atheism, is dangerous to be read, and containeth false doctrine; for that superstition of the twain is not so bad: I say that in regard of the foolish devotion of Plutarch and such as himself, which in no wise deserveth the name of religion, but is indeed a derision and profanation of true piety and godliness, it were not amiss to affirm that superstition is more wretched and miserable than atheism, considering that less hurtful and dangerous it is for a man not to have his mind and soul troubled at all and disquieted with a fantastical illusion of idols and chimeras in the air, than to fear, honour and serve them in such sort as justice and humanity should in manner be abolished by such superstitious idolators. To be short, that it were better to defeat and overthrow at once all false gods than to lodge any one in his head, for to languish thereby in perpetual misery. Concerning true religion and the extremities thereof, the case is otherwise, and the question disputable, which we leave to divines and theologians to scan upon, to discourse and determine, since our intention and purpose urgeth us not at this time to discourse hereupon.

But to return unto our author, considering that which we come to touch; atheists cannot find how to prevail and maintain their opinion: for sufficient process and accusation against themselves they carry every minute of an hour in their cauterised and seared conscience; but he sheweth that to worship and serve many idols is a thing without comparison more deplorable than to disavow and disclaim them all. But to prove this, after he had discovered the course of superstition and atheism, and declared the difference

of these two extremities, he saith, in the first place, that superstition is the most unworthy and unseemly of all the passions of the soul, proving the same by divers reasons, to wit; That the superstitious man is in continual perplexity, he dreadeth his own idol no less than a cruel tyrant, and imagineth a thousand evils even after his death. After this he taketh a view of the atheist, and opposeth him against the superstitious, resolving upon this point; that the superstitious person is more miserable of the twain, as well in adversity as prosperity, and to confirm and satisfy his assertion, he setteth down many arguments and notable examples. Moreover, he sheweth that the superstitious person is an enemy to all Deity or Godhead, he putteth clean out of his heart and treadeth under foot all humanity and righteousness for to please his idols, and in one word, that he is the most wretched caitiff in the world. And for a conclusion he exhorteth us so to fly superstition, that we hold ourselves from falling into atheism, keeping in the middle between; of which point every good man ought to consider and think upon well and in good earnest in these latter times of the world, albeit he who advertiseth us thereof in this place never knew what was true religion.]

THE ignorance and want of true knowledge as touching the gods divided even from the beginning into two branches, meeting on the one side with stubborn and obstinate natures, as it were with a churlish piece of ground, hath in them engendered impiety and atheism; and on the other side, lighting upon gentle and tender spirits like a moist and soft soil, hath bred and imprinted therein superstition: now as all error in opinion and judgment, and namely in these matters, is hurtful and dangerous enough; so if it be accompanied with some passion of the mind it is most pernicious. For this we must think, that every one of these passions resembleth a deception that is feverous and inflamed; and like as the dislocations of any joints in a man's body out of their place joined with a wound be worse than others to be cured; even so the distortions and errors of the mind meeting with some passion are more difficult to be reformed. As, for example, set case that one do think that the little motes and indivisible bodies called *atomi*, together with voidness and emptiness, be the first elements and principles whereof all things are made; certainly this is an erroneous and false opinion of his; howbeit the same breedeth no ulcer, no fever causing disordinate pulse in the arteries, nor yet any pricking and troublesome pain. Doth some one hold that riches is the sovereign good of man? This error and false opinion hath a rust or canker and a worm that eateth into the soul and transporteth the same besides itself, it suffereth it not to take any

repose, it stingeth, it pricketh it and setteth it a-gadding, it throweth it down headlong (as it were) from high rocks, it stifleth and strangleth it, and in one word, it bereaveth it of all liberty and frank speech. Again, are there some persuaded that virtue and vice be substances corporal and material? this haply is a gross ignorance and a foul error, howbeit not lamentable nor worthy to be deplored: but there be other judgments and opinions like unto this:

> O virtue, wretched and miserable,
> Nought else but words and wind variable;
> Thee serv'd I daily with all reverence,
> As if thou hadst been some real essence:
> Whereas injustice neglected I have,
> Which would have made me a man rich and brave;
> Intemperance eke have I cast behind:
> Of pleasures all, the mother dear and kind.

Such as these verily we ought to pity, yea, and withal to be offended at, because in whose minds they are once entered and settled they engender many maladies and passions like unto worms and such filthy vermin.

But now to come unto those which at this present are in question: impiety or atheism, being a false persuasion and lewd belief that there is no sovereign nature most happy and incorruptible, seemeth by incredulity of a Godhead to bring miscreants to a certain stupidity, bereaving them of all sense and feeling, considering that the end of this misbelief that there is no God, is to be void altogether of fear. As for superstition, according as the nature of the Greek word (which signifieth *fear of the gods*) doth imply, is a passionate opinion and turbulent imagination, imprinting in the heart of man a certain fearfulness, which doth abate his courage and humble him down to the very ground, whiles he is persuaded that they be gods indeed, but such as be noisome, hurtful, and doing mischief unto men: In such sort, that the impious atheist, having no motion at all as touching the Deity and divine power, and the superstitious person moved and affected thereto after a perverse sort, and otherwise than he should, are both out of the right way. For ignorance, as it doth ingenerate in the one an unbelief of that sovereign nature which is the cause of all goodness, so it imprinteth in the other a misbelief of the Deity, as being the cause of evil: so that as it should seem, impiety or atheism is a false judgment and opinion of the Godhead; and superstition a passion proceeding from an erroneous persuasion. True it is that all maladies of the soul are foul and the passions naught;

howbeit in some of them there is a kind of (I wot not what) alacrity, haughtiness, and jollity, proceeding from the lightness of the mind; and to say in a word, there is in manner not one of them all destitute of one active motion or other, serving for action; but a common imputation this is and a blame laid generally upon all passions, that with their violent pricks (as it were) they incite, provoke, urge, compel, and force reason; only fear, which being no less void of audacity and boldness than of reason, carrieth with it a certain blockishness or stupidity, destitute of action, perplexed, idle, dead, without any exploit or effect whatsoever; whereupon it is named in Greek δεῖμα, that is to say, a bond, and τάρβος, that is to say, trouble, for that it both bindeth and also troubleth the mind. But of all sorts of fear there is none so full of perplexity, none so unfit for action as that of superstition. The man who saileth not is not afraid of the sea; neither feareth he the wars who followeth not warfare; no more than he who keepeth home and stirreth not out of doors is afraid of thieves that rob by the highway-side; or the poor man that hath nought to lose, of the sycophant or promoter; nor he that liveth in mean estate, of envy; no more (I say) than he that is in Gaul feareth earthquake, or in Ethiopia thunder and lightning: but the superstitious man that stands in fear of the gods, feareth all things, the land, the sea, the air, the sky, darkness, light, silence, and his very dreams. Servants whiles they be asleep forget the rigour and hardness of their masters. Sleep easeth the chains, gyves, and fetters of those that lie by the heels bound in prison; dolorous inflammations, smart wounds, painful ulcers and marimuls that eat and consume the flesh, yield some ease and alleviation unto patients whiles they be asleep, according as he saith in the tragedy:

> O sweet repose, O sleep so gracious,
> That dost allay our maladies,
> How welcome art thou unto us,
> Bringing in season remedies!

Thus said he: But superstition will not give a man leave thus to say: For it alone maketh no truce during sleep; it permitteth not the soul at any time to breathe and take rest, no nor suffereth it to pluck up her spirits and take heart again by removing out of her the unpleasant, tart, and troublesome opinions as touching the divine power; but as if the sleep of superstitious folk were a very hell and place of damned persons, it doth present unto them terrible visions and monstrous fancies; it raiseth devils,

fiends, and furies, which torment the poor and miserable soul; it driveth her out of her quiet repose by her own fearful dreams, wherewith she whippeth, scourgeth and punisheth herself (as if it were) by some other, whose cruel and unreasonable commandments she doth obey; and yet here is not all; for, that which worse is, such superstitious persons, after they be awakened out of their sleep and risen, do not as other men, despise their dreams, and either laugh thereat or take pleasure therein, for that they see there is nothing true in all their visions and illusions which should trouble and terrify them; but being escaped out of the shadow of those false illusions, wherein there is no harm or hurt at all, they deceive and trouble themselves in good earnest, spending their substance and goods infinitely upon magicians, jugglers, enchanters, and such-like deceivers whom they light upon, who bear a man in hand and thus say unto him:

> If frighted thou be with fancies in sleep,
> Or haunted with Hecate that beneath doth keep,

call for an old trot that tends thy backhouse, and plunge thyself in the sea water, and sit a whole day upon the ground,

> O Greeks, you that would counted be most wise,
> These barbarous and wicked toys devise;

namely, upon a vain and foolish superstition, enjoining men to begrime and bewray themselves with dirt, to lie and wallow in the mire, to observe sabbaths and cease from work, to lie prostrate and grovelling upon the earth with the face downward, to sit upon the ground in open place, and to make many strange and extravagant adorations.

In times past the manner was, among those especially who would entertain and observe lawful music, to command those that began to play upon the harp or cittern, to sing thereto with a just mouth, to the end they should speak no dishonest thing; and even we also require and think it meet to pray unto the gods with a just and right mouth, and not to pry in the beast sacrificed, to look into the entrails, to observe whether the tongue thereof be pure and right, and in the meantime perverting and polluting our own tongues with strange and absurd names, infecting and defiling the same with barbarous terms, offending thereby the gods, and violating the dignity of that religion which is received from our ancestors and authorised in our own country. The comical poet said pleasantly in one comedy,

speaking of those who laid their bedsteads thick with gold and silver: Why do you make your sleep dear and costly unto yourselves, which is the only gift that the gods have given us freely? even so may a man very well say (and with great reason) unto those that are superstitious: Seeing that the gods have bestowed upon us sleep, for the oblivion and repose of our miseries, why makest thou it a very hell and place of continual and dolorous torment to thy poor soul, which cannot fly nor have recourse unto any other sleep but that which is troublesome unto thee? Heraclitus was wont to say: That men all the whiles they were awake, enjoyed the benefit of no other world, but that which was common unto all; but when they slept, every one had a world by himself: but surely, the superstitious person hath not so much as any part of the common world, for neither whiles he is awake hath he the true use of reason and wisdom, nor when he sleepeth is he delivered from fear and secured; but one thing or other troubleth him still: his reason is asleep, his fear is always awake; so that neither can he avoid his own harm quite, nor find any means to put it by and turn it off. Polycrates the tyrant was dread and terrible in Samos, Periander in Corinth, but no man feared either the one or the other who withdrew himself into any free city or popular state; as for him who standeth in dread and fear of the imperial power of the gods, as of some rigorous and inexorable tyranny, whither shall he retire and withdraw himself? whither shall he fly? where shall he find a land, where shall he meet with sea, without a god? into what secret part of the world (poor man) wilt thou betake thyself, wherein thou mayst lie close and hidden, and be assured that thou art without the puissance and reach of the gods?

There is a law that provideth for miserable slaves, who being so hardly intreated by their masters, are out of all hope that they shall be enfranchised and made free, namely, that they may demand to be sold again and to change their master, if haply they may by that means come by a better and more easy servitude under another: but this superstition alloweth us not that liberty to change our gods for the better, nay, there is not a god to be found in the world whom a superstitious person doth not dread, considering that he feareth the tutelar gods of his native country, and the very gods protectors of his nativity: he quaketh even before those gods which are known to be saviours propitious and gracious; he trembleth for fear when he thinketh of them at whose hands we crave riches, abundance of goods, concord, peace, and the happy success of the best words and

deeds that we have. Now if these think that bondage is a great calamity, saying thus:

> O heavy cross and woeful misery,
> Man and woman to be in thrall-estate:
> And namely, if their slavery
> Be under lords unfortunate,

how much more grievous, think you, is their servitude which they endure who cannot fly, who cannot run away and escape, who cannot change and turn to another. Altars there be unto which bad servants may fly for succour; many sanctuaries there be and privileged churches for thieves and robbers, from whence no man is so hardy as to pluck and pull them out. Enemies, after they are defeated and put to flight, if in the very rout and chase they can take hold of some image of the gods, or recover some temple and get it over their heads once, are secured and assured of their lives; whereas the superstitious person is most affrighted, scared and put in fear by that wherein all others who be afraid of extremest evils that can happen to man repose their hope and trust. Never go about to pull perforce a superstitious man out of sacred temples, for in them he is most afflicted and tormented.

What needs many words? In all men death is the end of life; but it is not so in superstition, for it extendeth and reacheth farther than the limits and utmost bounds thereof, making fear longer than this life, and adjoining unto death an imagination of immortal miseries; and even then, when there seemeth to be an end and cessation of all sorrows and travails, be superstitious men persuaded that they must enter into others which be endless and everlasting: they dream of (I wot not what) deep gates of a certain Pluto, or infernal god of hell, which open for to receive them; of fiery rivers always burning; of hollow gulfs and floods of Styx to gape for them; of ugly and hideous darkness to overspread them, full of sundry apparitions; of ghastly ghosts and sorrowful spirits, representing unto them grizzly and horrible shapes to see, and as fearful and lamentable voices to hear: what should I speak of judges, of tormentors, of bottomless pits and gaping caves, full of all sorts of torture and infinite miseries. Thus unhappy and wretched superstition, by fearing overmuch and without reason that which it imagineth to be nought, never taketh heed how it submitteth itself to all miseries; and for want of knowledge how to avoid this passionate trouble, occasioned by the fear of the gods, forgeth and

deviseth to itself an expectation of inevitable evils even after death.

The impiety of an atheist hath none of all this gear; most true it is, that his ignorance is unhappy, and that a great calamity and misery it is unto the soul, either to see amiss or wholly to be blinded, in so great and worthy things, as having of many eyes the principal and clearest of all, to wit, the knowledge of God, extinct and put out; but surely (as I said before) this passionate fear, this ulcer and sore of conscience, this trouble of spirit, this servile abjection is not in his conceit; these go always with the other, who have such a superstitious opinion of the gods. Plato saith that music was given unto men by the gods, as a singular means to make them more modest and gracious, yea, and to bring them as it were into tune, and cause them to be better conditioned, and not for delight and pleasure, nor to tickle the ears: for falling out as it doth many times, that for default and want of the Muses and Graces there is great confusion and disorder in the periods and harmonies, the accords and consonances of the mind, which breaketh out otherwhiles outrageously by means of intemperance and negligence; music is of that power that it setteth everything again in good order and their due place; for according as the poet Pindarus saith:

> To whatsoever from above,
> God Jupiter doth cast no love,
> To that the voice melodious
> Of Muses seemeth odious.

Insomuch as they fall into fits of rage therewith, and be very fell and angry; like as it is reported of tigers, who if they hear the sound of drums or tabours round about them, will grow furious and stark mad, until in the end they tear themselves in pieces: so that there cometh less harm unto them who by reason of deafness or hard hearing have no sense at all of music, and are nothing moved and affected therewith: a great infortunity this was of blind Tiresias, that he could not see his children and friends, but much more unfortunate and unhappy were Athamas and Agave, who seeing their children, thought they saw lions and stags. And no doubt when Hercules fell to be enraged and mad, better it had been and more expedient for him, that he had not seen nor known his own children than so to deal with those who were most dear unto him, and whom he loved more than all the world besides, as if they had been his mortal enemies.

Think you not, then, that there is the same difference between the passions of atheists and superstitious folk? Atheists have no sight nor knowledge of the gods at all; and the superstitious think there are gods, though they be persuaded of them amiss; atheists neglect them altogether as if they were not; but the superstitious esteem that to be terrible which is gracious and amiable; cruel and tyrant-like which is kind and father-like; hurtful and damageable unto us which is most careful of our good and profit; rough, rigorous, savage and fell of nature which is void of choler and without passion. And hereupon it is that they believe brass-founders, cutters in stone, imagers, gravers and workers in wax, who shape and represent unto them gods with bodies to the likeness of mortal men, for such they imagine them to be, such they adorn, adore, and worship, whiles in the meantime they despise philosophers and grave personages of state and government, who do teach and shew that the majesty of God is accompanied with bounty, magnanimity, love, and careful regard of our good: So that as in the one sort we may perceive a certain senseless stupidity and want of belief in those causes from whence proceed all goodness; so in the other we may observe a distrustful doubt and fear of those which cannot otherwise be than profitable and gracious. In sum, impiety and atheism is nothing else but a mere want of feeling and sense of a deity or divine power, for default of understanding and knowing the sovereign good; and superstition is a heap of divers passions, suspecting and supposing that which is good by nature to be bad; for superstitious persons fear the gods, and yet they have recourse unto them; they flatter them, and yet blaspheme and reproach them; they pray unto them, and yet complain of them. A common thing this is unto all men, not to be always fortunate, whereas the gods are void of sickness, not subject to old age, neither taste they of labour or pain at any time: and as Pindarus saith:

> Escape they do the passage of the firth
> Of roaring Acheron, and live alway in mirth.

But the passions and affairs of men be intermeddled with divers accidents and adventures which run as well one way as another. Now consider with me first and foremost the atheist in those things which happen against his mind, and learn his disposition and affection in such occurrences: if in other respects he be a temperate and modest man, bear he will his fortune patiently without saying a word; seek for aid he will and comfort by what means he can; but if he be of nature violent, and take his

misfortune impatiently, then he directeth and opposeth all his plaints and lamentations against fortune and casualty; then he crieth out that there is nothing in the world governed either by justice or with providence, but that all the affairs of man run confusedly headlong to destruction: but the fashion of the superstitious is otherwise, for let there never so small an accident or mishap befall unto him, he sits him down sorrowing, and thereto he multiplieth and addeth other great and grievous afflictions, such as hardly be removed; he imagineth sundry frights, fears, suspicions, and troublesome terrors, giving himself to all kind of wailing, groaning, and doleful lamentation; for he accuseth not any man, fortune, occasion, or his own self; but he blameth God as the cause of all, giving out in plain terms that from thence it is that there falleth and runneth over him such a celestial influence of all calamity and misery, contesting in this wise, that an unhappy or unlucky man he is not, but one hated of the gods, worthily punished and afflicted, yea, and suffering all deservedly by that divine power and providence: now if the godless atheist be sick, he discourseth with himself and calleth to mind his repletions and full feedings, his surfeiting upon drinking wine, his disorders in diet, his immoderate travail and pains taken, yea, and his unusual and absurd change of air, from that which was familiar, unto that which is strange and unnatural: moreover, if it chance that he have offended in any matter of government touching the state, incurred disgrace and an evil opinion of the people and country wherein he liveth, or been falsely accused and slandered before the prince or sovereign ruler, he goeth no farther than to himself and those about him, imputing the cause of all thereto and to nothing else, and thus he reasoneth:

Where have I been? what good have I done? and what have I not done?
Where have I slipp'd? what duty begun is left by me undone?

whereas the superstitious person will think and say, that every disease and infirmity of his body, all his losses, the death of his children, his evil success and infortunity in managing civil affairs of state, and his repulses and disgraces, are so many plagues inflicted upon him by the ire of the gods, and the very assaults of the divine justice; insomuch as he dare not go about to seek for help and succour, nor avert his own calamity; he will not presume to seek for remedy, nor oppose himself against the invasion of adverse fortune, for fear (forsooth) lest he might seem to fight against the gods, or to resist their power and will when

they punish him: thus when he lieth sick in bed, he driveth his physician out of the chamber, when he is come to visit him; when he is in sorrow, he shutteth and locketh his door upon the philosopher that cometh to comfort him and give him good counsel: Let me alone (will he say) and give me leave to suffer punishment as I have deserved, wicked and profane creature that I am, accursed, hated of all the gods, demigods, and saints in heaven. Whereas if a man (who doth not believe nor is persuaded that there is a God) be otherwise in exceeding grief and sorrow, it is an ordinary thing with him to wipe away the tears as they gush out of his eyes and trickle down the cheeks, to cause his hair to be cut, and to take away his mourning weed. As for a superstitious person; how should one speak unto him, or which way succour and help him? without the doors he sits clad in sackcloth, or else girded about his loins with patched clothes and tattered rags; oftentimes he will welter and wallow in the mire, confessing and declaring (I wot not) what sins and offences that he hath committed; to wit, that he hath eaten or drunk this or that which his god would not permit; that he hath walked or gone some whither against the will and leave of the divine power. Now, say he be of the best sort of these superstitious people, and that he labour but of the milder superstition; yet will he at leastwise sit within house, having about him a number of all kinds of sacrifices and sacred aspersions; ye shall have old witches come and bring all the charms, spells and sorceries they can come by, and hang them about his neck or other parts of his body (as it were) upon a stake, as Bion was wont to say.

It is reported that Tyribasus, when he should have been apprehended by the Persians, drew his cimeter, and (as he was a valiant man of his hands) defended himself valiantly; but so soon as they that came to lay hands on him cried out and protested that they were to attach him in the king's name and by commission from his majesty, he laid down his weapon aforesaid immediately, and offered both his hands to be bound and pinioned. And is not this whereof we treat the semblable case? whereas others withstand their adversity, repel and put back their afflictions, and work all the means they can for to avoid, escape and turn away that which they would not have to come upon them. A superstitious person will hear no man, but speak in this wise to himself: Wretched man that thou art, all this thou sufferest at the hands of God, and this is befallen unto thee by his commandment, and the divine providence; all hope he

rejecteth, he doth abandon and betray himself, and look, whosoever come to succour and help him, those he shunneth and repelleth from him. Many crosses there be and calamities in the world, otherwise moderate and tolerable, which superstition maketh mischievous and incurable.

That ancient king Midas in old time being troubled and disquieted much in his mind (as it should seem) with certain dreams and visions, in the end fell into such a melancholy and despair, that willingly he made himself away by drinking bull's blood. And Aristodemus, king of Messenians, in that war which he waged against the Lacedæmonians, when it happened that the dogs yelled and howled like wolves, and that there grew about the altar of his house the herb called *dent de chien*, or dog's grass, whereupon the wizards and soothsayers were afraid (as of some tokens presaging evil), conceived such an inward grief and took so deep a thought, that he fell into desperation and killed himself. As for Nicias, the general of the Athenian army, haply it had been far better that by the examples of Midas and Aristodemus he had been delivered and rid from his superstition, than for fear of the shadow occasioned by the eclipse of the moon to have sitten still as he did and do nothing, until the enemies environed and enclosed him round about; and after that forty thousand of Athenians were either put to the sword or taken prisoners, to come alive into the hands of his enemies, and lose his life with shame and dishonour: for in the darkness occasioned by the opposition of the earth just in the midst, between the sun and the moon, whereby her body was shadowed and deprived of light, there was nothing for him to fear, and namely at such a time when there was cause for him to have stood upon his feet and served valiantly in the field; but the darkness of blind superstition was dangerous, to trouble and confound the judgment of a man who was possessed therewith, at the very instant when his occasions required most the use of his wit and understanding:

> The sea already troubled is
> With billows blew within the sound,
> Up to the capes and cliffs arise
> Thick misty clouds which gather round
> About their tops, where they do seat,
> Fore-shewing shortly tempests great.

A good and skilful pilot seeing this, doth well to pray unto the gods for to escape the imminent danger, and to invocate and call upon those saints for help which they after call saviours: but

all the while that he is thus at his devout prayers he holdeth the helm hard, he letteth down the cross sail-yard:

> Thus having struck the mainsail down the mast,
> He 'scapes the sea, with darkness overcast.

Hesiodus giveth the husbandman a precept, before he begin to drive the plough or sow his seed:

> To Ceres chaste his vows to make,
> To Jove likewise god of his land,
> Forgetting not the while to take
> The end of his plough-tail in hand.

And Homer bringeth in Ajax being at the point to enter into combat with Hector, willing the Greeks to pray for him unto the gods; but whiles they prayed he forgat not to arm himself at all pieces. Semblably, Agamemnon after he had given commandment to his soldiers who were to fight:

> Each one his lance and spear to whet,
> His shield likewise fitly to set,

then, and not before, prayeth unto Jupiter in this wise:

> O Jupiter, vouchsafe me of thy grace,
> The stately hall of Priamus to race;

for God is the hope of virtue and valour, not the pretence of sloth and cowardice. But the Jews were so superstitious, that on their sabbath (sitting still even whiles the enemies reared their scaling-ladders and gained the walls of their city) they never stirred foot, nor rose for the matter, but remained fast tied and enwrapped in their superstition as it were in a net. Thus you see what superstition is in those occurrences of times and affairs which succeed not to our mind, but contrary to our will (that is to say) in adversity: and as for times and occasions of mirth, when all things fall out to a man's desire, it is no better than impiety or atheism; and nothing is so joyous unto man as the solemnity of festival holidays, great feasts and sacrifices before the temples of the gods, the mystical and sacred rites performed when we are purified and cleansed from our sins, the ceremonial service of the gods when we worship and adore them; in which all, a superstitious man is no better than the atheist: for mark an atheist in all these, he will laugh at them until he be ready to go beside himself; these toys will set him (I say) into a fit of Sardonian laughing, when he shall see their vanities; and otherwhiles he will not stick to say softly in the ear of some familiar friend about him: What mad folk be these? how are they out of their right wits and enraged who suppose that

such things as these do please the gods! Setting this aside, there is no harm at all in him. As for the superstitious person, willing he is, but not able, to joy and take pleasure: for his heart is much like unto that city which Sophocles describeth in these verses:

> Which at one time is full of incense sweet,
> Resounding mirth with loud triumphant song,
> And yet the same doth shew in every street
> All signs of grief, with plaints and groans among,

he looketh with a pale face, under his chaplet of flowers upon his head; he sacrificeth, and yet quaketh for fear; he maketh his prayers with a trembling voice; he putteth incense into the fire, and his hand shaketh withal; to be short, he maketh the speech or sentence of Pythagoras to be vain and foolish, who was wont to say: That we are then in best case when we approach unto the gods and worship them. For verily even then it is when superstitious people are most wretched and miserable, to wit, when they enter into the temples and sanctuaries of the gods, as if they went into the dens of bears, holes of serpents and dragons, or caves of whales and such monsters of the sea. I marvel much, therefore, at them who call the miscreance and sin of atheists impiety, and give not that name rather to superstition. And yet Anaxagoras was accused of impiety; for that he held and said that the sun was a stone: whereas never man yet called the Cimmerians impious or godless because they suppose and believe there is no sun at all.

What say you then? Shall he who thinketh that there be no gods at all be taken for a profane person and excommunicate? and shall not he who believeth them to be such as superstitious folk imagine them, be thought infected with more impious and wicked opinions? For mine own part, I would be better pleased and content if men should say of me thus: There neither is nor ever was in the world a man named Plutarch, than to give out of me and say: Plutarch is an unconstant man, variable, choleric, full of revenge for the least occasion that is, or displeased and given to grieve for a small matter; who, if when you invite others to supper, he be left out and not bidden, or if upon some business you be let and hindered, so that you come not to his door for to visit him, or otherwise do not salute and speak unto him friendly, will be ready to eat your heart with salt, to set upon you with his fangs, and bite you, will not stick to catch up one of your little babes and worry him, or will keep some mischievous wild beast of purpose to put into your corn-

fields, your vineyard or orchards, for to devour and spoil all your fruits. When Timotheus the musician one day in an open theatre at Athens chanted the praises of Diana, giving unto her in his song the attributes of Thyas, Phœbas, Mænas and Lyssas, that is to say, furious, possessed, enraged, and stark mad, as poets are wont to do, Cinesias, another minstrel or musician, rose up from out of the whole audience, and said thus aloud unto him: Would God thou haddest a daughter of those qualities. And yet these superstitious folk think the same of Diana, yea, and worse too: neither have they a better opinion of Apollo, Juno and Venus; for all of them they fear and tremble at. And yet what blasphemy uttered Niobe against Latona, like unto that which superstition hath persuaded foolish people to believe of that goddess? to wit, that she being displeased with the reproachful words that Niobe gave her, killed with her arrows all the children of that silly woman:

> Even daughters six, and sons as many just,
> Of ripe years all, no help, but die they must:

so insatiable was she of the calamities of another, so implacable was her anger. For grant it were so, that this goddess was full of gall and choler; say, that she took an hatred to lewd and wicked persons, or grieved and could not endure to hear herself reproached, or to laugh at human folly and ignorance; certes, she should have been offended and angry, yea, and discharged her arrows upon these who untruly impute and ascribe unto her that bitterness and exceeding cruelty, and stick not both to deliver in words and also to set down in writing, such things of her. We charge Hecuba with beastly and barbarous immanity for saying thus in the last book of Homer's *Iliad*:

> O that I could his liver get
> Amid his corpse, to bite and eat.

As for the Syrian goddess, superstitious folk are persuaded that if any one do eat *enchoises* or such little fish as *aphyæ*, she will likewise gnaw their legs, fill their bodies with ulcers, and putrefy or rot their liver.

To conclude, therefore, is it impiously done to blaspheme the gods and speak badly of them; and is it not as impious to think and imagine the same, considering that it is the opinion and conceit of the blasphemer and foul-mouthed profane person which maketh his speech to be reputed naught and wicked? For even we ourselves detest and abhor foul language, for nothing so much as because it is a sign of a malicious mind, and

those we take for to be our enemies who give out bad words of us, in this respect that we suppose them to be faithless and not to be trusted, but rather ill affected unto us, and thinking badly of us. Thus you see what judgment superstitious folk have of the gods, when they imagine them to be dull and blockish, treacherous and disloyal, variable and fickle-minded, full of revenge, cruel, melancholic and apt to fret at every little matter: whereupon it must needs follow, that the superstitious man doth both hate and also dread the gods; for how can it otherwise be, considering that he is persuaded that all the greatest calamities which either he hath endured in times past, or is like to suffer hereafter, proceed from them; now whosoever hateth and feareth the gods, he is no doubt their enemy; neither is it to be wondered at for all this, that although he stand in dread of them, yet he adoreth and worshippeth them, he prayeth and sacrificeth unto them, frequenteth duly and devoutly their temples, and is not willingly out of them; for do we not see it ordinarily that reverence is done unto tyrants, that men make court unto them, and cry: God save your grace; yea, and erect golden statues to the honour of them: howbeit as great devotion and divine honour as they do unto them in outward appearance, they hate and abhor them secretly to the heart. Hermolaus courted Alexander, and was serviceable about him: Pausanias was one of the squires of the body to King Philip, and so was Chæreas to Caligula the emperor; but there was not of these but even when he served them said thus in his heart:

> Certes, in case it did now lie in me,
> Of thee (thou tyrant) revenged would I be.

Thus you see the atheist thinketh there be no gods; but the superstitious person wisheth that there were none; yet he believeth even against his will that there be, nay, he dare not otherwise do for fear of death. Now if he could (like as Tantalus desired to go from under the stone that hung over his head) be discharged of this fear which no less doth press him down, surely he would embrace, yea, and think the disposition and condition of an atheist to be happy, as the state of freedom and liberty: but now the atheist hath no spark at all of superstition, whereas the superstitious person is in will and affection a mere atheist, howbeit weaker than to believe and shew in opinion that of the gods which he would and is in his mind. Moreover, the atheist in no wise giveth any cause or ministereth occasion that superstition should arise; but superstition not only was the first

beginning of impiety and atheism, but also when it is sprung up and grown, doth patronise and excuse it, although not truly and honestly, yet not without some colourable pretence: for the sages and wise men in times past grew not into this opinion, that the world was wholly void of a divine power and deity, because they beheld and considered anything to be found fault withal in the heaven, some negligence and disorder to be marked, some confusion to be observed in the stars in the times and seasons of the year, in the revolutions thereof, in the course and motions of the sun round about the earth, which is the cause of night and day, or in the nouriture and food of beasts or in the yearly generation and increase of the fruits upon the earth; but the ridiculous works and deeds of superstition, their passions worthy to be mocked and laughed at, their words, their motions and gestures, their charms, sorceries, enchantments and magical illusions, their runnings up and down, their beating of drums and tabours, their impure purifications, their filthy castimonies and beastly sanctifications, their barbarous and unlawful corrections and chastisements, their inhuman and shameful indignities, practised even in temples; these things (I say) gave occasion first unto some for to say that better it were there had been no gods at all than to admit such for gods who received and approved these abuses, yea, and took pleasure therein, or that they should be so outrageous, proud and injurious, so base and pinching, so easy to fall into choler upon a small cause, and so hard to be pleased again. Had it not been far better for those Gauls, Scythians, or Tartarians in old time to have had no thought, no imagination, no mention at all delivered unto them in histories of gods, than to think there were gods delighting in the bloodshed of men, and to believe that the most holy and accomplished sacrifice and service of the gods was to cut men's throats and to spill their blood: and had it not been more expedient for the Carthaginians by having at the first for their law-givers either Critias or Diagoras to have been persuaded that there was neither God in heaven nor devil in hell, than to sacrifice so as they did to Saturn, who not (as Empedocles said) reproving and taxing those that killed living creatures in sacrifice:

> The sire lifts up his dear beloved son,
> Who first some other form and shape did take:
> He doth him slay, and sacrifice anon,
> And therewith vows and foolish prayers doth make;

but witting and knowing killed their own children indeed for sacrifice; and look, who had no issue of their own, would buy

poor men's children, as if they were lambs, young calves, or kids, for the said purpose. At which sacrifice the mother that bare them in her womb would stand by without any shew at all of being moved, without weeping or sighing for pity and compassion; for otherwise, if she either fetched a sigh or shed a tear, she must lose the price of her child, and yet notwithstanding suffer it to be slain and sacrificed. Moreover, before and all about the image or idol to which the sacrifice was made, the place resounded and rung again with the noise of flutes and hautboys, with the sound also of drums and timbrels, to the end that the pitiful cry of the poor infants should not be heard. Now if any Tryphones or other such-like giants, having chased and driven out the gods, should usurp the empire of the world and rule over us, what other sacrifices would they delight in, or what offerings else and service besides could they require at men's hands? Amestries, the wife of the great monarch Xerxes, buried quick in the ground twelve persons, and offered them for the prolonging of her own life unto Pluto; which god (as Plato said) was named Pluto, Dis and Hades, for that being full of humanity unto mankind, wise and rich besides, he was able to entertain the souls of men with persuasive speeches and reasonable remonstrances.

Xenophanes the naturalist, seeing the Egyptians at their solemn feasts knocking their breasts and lamenting piteously, admonished them very fitly in this wise: My good friends, if these (quoth he) be gods whom you honour thus, lament not for them; and if they be men, sacrifice not unto them. But there is nothing in the world so full of errors, no malady of the mind so passionate and mingled with more contrary and repugnant opinions, as this of superstition; in regard whereof, we ought to shun and avoid the same, but not as many who whiles they seek to eschew the assaults of thieves by the highway-side, or the invasion of wild beasts out of the forest, or the danger of fire, are so transported and carried away with fear that they look not about them, nor see what they do or whither they go, and by that means light upon byways, or rather places having no way at all, but instead thereof bottomless pits and gulfs, or else steep downfalls most perilous; even so, there be divers that seeking to avoid superstition, fall headlong upon the cragged rock of perverse and stiff-necked impiety and atheism, leaping over true religion which is seated just in the midst between both.

OF EXILE OR BANISHMENT

THE SUMMARY

[THERE is not a man, how well soever framed to the world and settled therein, who can promise unto himself any peaceable and assured state throughout the course of his whole life; but according as it seemeth good to the eternal and wise providence of the Almighty (which governeth all things) to chastise our faults, or to try our constancy in faith; he ought in time of a calm to prepare himself for a tempest, and not to attend the midst of a danger before he provide for his safety, but betimes and long before to fortify and furnish himself with that whereof he may have need another day in all occurrences and accidents whatsoever. Our author, therefore, in this treatise writing to comfort and encourage one of his friends, cast down with anguish occasioned by his banishment, sheweth throughout all his discourse that virtue it is which maketh us happy in every place, and that there is nothing but vice that can hurt and endamage us. Now as touching his particularising of this point, in the first place he treateth what kind of friends we have need of in our affliction, and how we ought then to serve our turns with them: and in regard of exile more particularly, he adjoineth this advertisement, above all other things to see unto those goods which we may enjoy during the same, and to oppose them against the present grief and sorrow. Afterwards he proveth by sundry and divers reasons, that banishment is not in itself simply naught; he discovereth and layeth open the folly and misery of those who are too much addicted unto one country, shewing by notable examples that a wise man may live at ease and contentment in all places; that the habitation in a strange region, and the same limited and confined straitly within certain precincts, doth much more good ordinarily than harm; that a large country lying out far every way maketh a man never a whit the more happy: whereas contrariwise, to be enclosed and pent up bringeth many commodities with it, declaring that this is the only life; and that it is no life at all to be evermore flitting to and fro from place to place. Now when he hath beautified this theme abovesaid with many fair similitudes and proper inductions, he comforteth those who are debarred and excluded from any city or province; refuting with very good and sound arguments certain persons who held banishment for a note of infamy; shewing withal, that it is nothing else but sin and vice which bringeth a man into a lamentable state and condition: concluding by the examples of Anaxagoras and Socrates, that neither imprisonment, nor death, can enthral or make miserable the man who loveth virtue. And contrariwise, he giveth us to understand by the examples of Phaëthon and Icarus, that vicious and sinful persons fall daily and continually one way or other into most grievous calamities through their own audaciousness and folly.]

Semblable is the case of wise sentences and of good friends; the best and most assured be those reputed which are present with us in our calamities, not in vain and for a shew, but to aid and succour us: for many there be who will not stick to present themselves, yea, and be ready to confer and talk with their friends in time of adversity; howbeit, to no good purpose at all, but rather with some danger to themselves, like as unskilful divers, when they go about to help those that are at point to be drowned, being clasped about the body, sink together with them for company. Now the speeches and discourses which come from friends and such as would seem to be helpers ought to tend unto the consolation of the party afflicted, and not to the defence and justification of the thing that afflicteth: for little need have we of such persons as should weep and lament with us in our tribulations and distresses, as the manner is of the *chori* or quires in tragedies, but those rather who will speak their minds frankly unto us, and make remonstrance plainly: That for a man to be sad and sorrowful, to afflict and cast down himself, is not only every way bootless and unprofitable, but also most vain and foolish: but where the adverse occurrents themselves being well handled and managed by reason, when they are discovered what they be, give a man occasion to say thus unto himself:

> Thou hast no cause thus to complain,
> Unless thou be dispos'd to fain.

A mere ridiculous folly it were to ask either of body and flesh what it aileth, or of soul what it suffereth, and whether by the occurrence of this accident it fare worse than before; but to have recourse unto strangers without, to teach us what our grief is, by wailing, sorrowing, and grieving together with us: and therefore, when we are apart and alone by ourselves, we ought each one to examine our own heart and soul about all and every mishap and infortunity, yea, and to peise and weigh them, as if they were so many burdens, for the body is pressed down only by the weight of the fardel that loadeth it; but the soul oftentimes of itself giveth a surcharge over and above the things that molest it. A stone of the own nature is hard, and ice of itself cold; neither is there anything without that giveth casually to the one the hardness to resist, or to the other the coldness to congeal; but banishments, disgraces, repulse, and loss of dignity, as also contrariwise, crowns, honours, sovereign magistracies, pre-eminences, and highest places, being powerful

either to afflict or rejoice hearts, in some measure more or less, not by their own nature, but according to judgment and opinion, every man maketh to himself light or heavy, easy to be borne or contrariwise intolerable: whereupon we may hear Polynices answering thus to the demand made unto him by his mother:

> How then? is it a great calamity,
> To quit the place of our nativity?
> POLYNICES. The greatest cross of all it is doubtless,
> And more indeed than my tongue can express;

but contrariwise, you shall hear Alcman in another song, according to a little epigram written of him by a certain poet:

> At Sardis, where mine ancestors sometime abode did make,
> If I were bred and nourished, my surname I should take
> Of some Celmus or Bacelat, in robes of gold array'd,
> And jewels fine, while I upon the pleasant tabour play'd.
> But now Alcman I cleped am, and of that Sparta great
> A citizen, and poet: for in Greekish muse my vein
> Exalts me more than Dascyles or Gyges, tyrants twain:

for it is the opinion, and nothing else, that causeth one and the same thing to be unto some good and commodious, as current and approved money, but to others unprofitable and hurtful.

But set case that exile be a grievous calamity, as many men do both say and sing; even so, among those meats which we eat there be many things bitter, sharp, hot and biting in taste, howbeit, by mingling therewith somewhat which is sweet and pleasant, we take away that which disagreeth with nature; like as there be colours also offensive to the sight, in such sort as that the eyes be much dazzled and troubled therewith, by reason of their unpleasant hue or excessive and intolerable brightness. If then, for to remedy that inconvenience by such offensive and resplendent colours, we have devised means either to intermingle shadows withal, or turn away our eyes from them unto some green and delectable objects; the semblable may we do in those sinister and cross accidents of fortune; namely, by mixing among them those good and desirable blessings which a man presently doth enjoy, to wit, wealth and abundance of goods, a number of friends, and the want of nothing necessary to this life: for I do not think that among the Sardinians there be many who would not be very well content with those goods and that estate which you have even in exile, and chuse rather with your condition of life otherwise, to live from home and in a strange country, than (like snails, evermore sticking fast to their shells) be without all good things else, and enjoy only that which they have at home in peace, without trouble and molestation. Like

as therefore in a certain comedy there was one who exhorted his friend, being fallen into some adversity, to take a good heart, and fight against fortune; who when he demanded of him again how he should combat with her, made answer: Marry, after a philosophical manner; even so let us also maintain battle, and be revenged of adversity, by following the rule of philosophy, and being armed with patience as becometh wise men. For after what sort do we defend ourselves against rain? or how be we revenged of the north wind? marry, we seek for fire, we go into a stouph, we make provision of clothes, and we get an house over our heads; neither do we sit us down in the rain until we be thoroughly wet to the skin, and then weep our fill; and even so, have you also in those things which are presently about you good means, yea, and better than any other, to revive, refresh, and warm this part of your life which seemeth to be frozen and benumbed with cold, as having no need at all of any other helps and succours, so long as you will use the foresaid means, according as reason doth prescribe and direct. For true it is, that the ventoses or cupping-glasses that physicians use, drawing out of man's body the worst and most corrupt blood, do disburden and preserve all the rest. But they that are given to heaviness and sorrow, who love also evermore to whine and complain, by gathering together and multiplying continually in their cogitations the worst matters incident unto them, and eftsoons consuming themselves with the dolorous accidents of their fortune, cause those means to be unprofitable unto them which otherwise are wholesome and expedient, and even at such a time especially when they should do most good.

As for those two tuns, my good friend, which Homer saith to be set in heaven full of men's destinies, the one replenished with good and the other with bad, it is not Jupiter who sitteth to dispense and distribute them abroad, sending unto some mild and pleasant fortunes intermingled always with goodness, but unto others continual streams (as a man would say) of mere misfortunes without any temperature of any goodness at all: but even among our own selves as many as be wise and are of any sound understanding, draw out of their happy fortunes whatsoever cross and adverse matter is mingled therewith, and by this means make their life the pleasanter; and as a man would say more potable; whereas contrariwise, many men do let their fortunes run (as it were) through a colander or strainer, wherein the worst stick and remain in the way behind, whiles the better do pass and run out; and therefore it behoveth that

although we be fallen into anything that is in truth naught and grievous unto us, we set a cheerful countenance on the matter, and make the best supply and recompense that we can by those good things that otherwise we have and do remain with us besides, lenifying and polishing the strange and adverse accident which happeneth without by that which is mild and familiar within.

But as touching those occurrents that simply of their own nature be not ill, and wherein whatsoever doth trouble and offend us ariseth altogether and wholly upon a vain conceit and foolish imagination of our own; we ought to do as our manner is with little children that be afraid of masks and disguised visors; for like as we hold the same close and near unto them, handle and turn them in our hands before them every way, and so by that means acquaint them therewith, until they make no reckoning at all of them; even so by approaching near, by touching and perusing the said calamities with our understanding and discourse of reason, we are to consider and discover the false appearance, the vanity and feigned tragedy that they pretend; like to which is that present accident which now is befallen unto you, to wit, the banishment out of that place which, according to the vulgar error of men, you suppose to be your native country. For to say a truth, there is no such distinct native soil that nature hath ordained, no more than either house, land, smith's forge or chirurgeon's shop is by nature, as Ariston was wont to say; but every one of these and such-like, according as any man doth occupy or use them, are his, or to speak more properly, are named and called his: for man, according to the saying of Plato, is not an earthly plant, having the root fixed fast within the ground and unmovable, but celestial and turning upward to heaven, whose body from the head as from a root that doth strengthen the same abideth straight and upright. And hereupon it is that Hercules in a certain tragedy said thus:

> What, tell you me of Argive or Thebain,
> I do not vaunt of any place certain,
> No borough town, nor city, comes amiss
> Throughout all Greece, but it my country is.

And yet Socrates said better than so; who gave it out that he was neither Athenian nor Grecian, but a citizen of the world; as if a man should say for example sake, that he were either a Rhodian or a Corinthian; for he would not include himself

within the precincts and limits of the promontories Sunium or Tænarus, nor yet the Ceraunian mountains:

> But seest thou this starry firmament,
> So high above and infinitely vast,
> In bosom moist of water element,
> The earth beneath how it encloseth fast.

These are the bounds of a native country within the pourprise and compass whereof whosoever is, ought not to think himself either banished, pilgrim, stranger or foreigner; namely, whereas he shall meet with the same fire, the same water, the same air, the same magistrates, the same governors and presidents; to wit, the sun, the moon and the morning star; the same laws throughout, under one and the selfsame order and conduct; the solstice and tropic of summer in the north; the solstice and tropic of winter in the south; the equinoxes both of spring and fall, the stars Pleiades and Arcturus; the seasons of seedness, the times of planting; one king, and the same prince of all, even God, who hath in his hand the beginning, the midst, and the end of the whole and universal world; who by his influence goeth according to nature, directly through and round about all things, attended upon with righteousness and justice, to take vengeance and punishment of those who transgress any point of divine law: which all we likewise that are men do exercise and use by the guidance and direction of nature against all others, as our citizens and subjects.

Now say that thou dost not dwell and live in Sardis, what matter is that? surely it is just nothing: No more do all the Athenians inhabit in the boroughs or tribe Colyttus; nor the Corinthians in the street Cranium; nor yet the Lacedæmonians in the village Pytane: are those Athenians then to be counted strangers, and not inhabitants of the city, who have removed out of Melite into Diomea: considering that even there they do solemnise yet the month of their transmigration named thereupon Metageitnion; yea, and do celebrate a festival holiday and sacrifice, which in memorial of that removing they call Metageitnia, for that this passage of theirs into another neighbourhood they received and entertained right willingly with joy and much contentment? I suppose you will never say so. Now tell me what part of this earth habitable, or rather of the whole globe and compass thereof, can be said far distant or remote one from the other, seeing that the mathematicians are able to prove and make demonstration by reason that the whole, in comparison and respect of heaven or the firmament, is no

more than a very prick which hath no dimension at all? But we, like unto pismires driven out of our hole, or in manner of bees dispossessed of our hive, are cast down and discomforted by and by, and take ourselves to be foreigners and strangers, for that we know not how to esteem and make all things our own, familiar and proper unto us, as they be. And yet we laugh at the folly of him who said: That the moon at Athens was better than at Corinth; being in the meanwhile after a sort in the same error of judgment, as if when we are gone a journey from the place of our habitation, we should mistake the earth, the sea, the air and the sky, as if they were others and far different from those which we are accustomed unto: for nature hath permitted us to go and walk through the world loose and at liberty: but we for our parts imprison ourselves, and we may thank ourselves that we are pent up in straight rooms, that we be housed and kept within walls; thus of our own accord we leap into close and narrow places; and notwithstanding that we do thus by ourselves, yet we mock the Persian kings, for that (if it be true which is reported of them) they drink all of the water only of the river Choaspes, by which means they make all the continent besides waterless, for any good they have by it: whereas, even we also, when we travel and remove into other countries, have a longing desire after the river Cephisus or Eurotas; yea, and a mind unto the mountain Taïgetus or the hill Parnassus; whereby upon a most vain and foolish opinion, all the world besides is not only void of water, but also like a desert, without city, and altogether inhabitable unto us.

Contrariwise, certain Egyptians by occasion of some wrath and excessive oppressing of their king, minding to remove into Ethiopia, whenas their kinsfolk and friends requested them to turn back again, and not to forsake their wives and children, after a shameless manner shewing unto them their genital members, answered them: That they would neither want wives nor children, so long as they carried those about them. But surely a man may avouch more honestly, and with greater modesty and gravity, that he who in what place soever feeleth no want or miss of those things which be necessary for this life, cannot complain and say: That he is there out of his own country, without city, without his own house and habitation, or a stranger at all; so as he only have as he ought, his eye and understanding bent hereunto, for to stay and govern him in manner of a sure anchor, that he may be able to make benefit and use of any haven or harbour whatsoever he arriveth unto.

For when a man hath lost his goods, it is not so easy a matter to recover them soon again; but surely every city is straightways as good a native country unto him, who knoweth and hath learned how to use it; to him (I say) who hath such roots as will live, be nourished and grow in every place and by any means, such as Themistocles was furnished with; and such as Demetrius the Phalerian was not without; who being banished from Athens, became a principal person in the court of King Ptolemæus in Alexandria, where he not only himself lived in great abundance of all things, but also sent unto the Athenians from thence rich gifts and presents. As for Themistocles, living in the estate of a prince, through the bountiful allowance and liberality of the King of Persia, he was wont (by report) to say unto his wife and children: We had been utterly undone for ever, if we had not been undone. And therefore Diogenes, surnamed the Dog, when one brought him word and said, The Sinopians have condemned thee to be exiled out of the kingdom of Pontus: And I (quoth he) have confined them within the country of Pontus with this charge:

> That they shall never pass the utmost bonds
> Of Euxine sea that hems them with her stronds.

Stratonius being in the isle Seriphos, which was a very little one, demanded of his host for what crimes the punishment of exile was ordained in that country; and when he heard and understood by him that they used to banish such as were convicted of falsehood and untruth: Why then (quoth he again) hast not thou committed some false and lewd act, to the end that thou mightest depart out of this straight place and be enlarged? where, as one comical poet said: A man might gather and make a vintage (as it were) of figs with slings, and foison of all commodities might be had, which an island wanted. For if one would weigh and consider the truth indeed, setting aside all vain opinion and foolish conceits, he that is affected unto one city alone is a very pilgrim and stranger in all others; for it seemeth neither meet, honest, nor reasonable that a man should abandon his own for to inhabit those of others. Sparta is fallen to thy lot (saith the proverb), adorn and honour it, for so thou art bound to do; be it that it is of small or no account; say that it is seated in an unwholesome air, and subject to many diseases, or be plagued with civil dissensions, or otherwise troubled with turbulent affairs. But whosoever he be whom fortune hath deprived of his own native country, certes she

hath granted and allowed him to make choice of that which may please and content him. And verily, the precept of the Pythagoreans serveth to right good stead in this case to be practised: Choose (say they) the best life; use and custom will make it pleasant enough unto thee. To this purpose also it may be wisely and with great profit said: Make choice of the best and most pleasant city, time will cause it to be thy native country, and such a native country as shall not distract and trouble thee with any business, nor impose upon thee these and such-like exactions: Make payment and contribute to this levy of money: Go in embassage to Rome: Receive such a captain or ruler into thine house, or take such a charge upon thee at thine own expenses.

Now he that calleth these things to remembrance, if he have any wit in his head, and be not over-blind every way in his own opinion and self-conceit, will wish and choose, if he be banished out of his own country, to inhabit the very isle Gyaros, or the rough and barren island Cinarus, where trees or plants do hardly grow, without complaining with grief of heart, without lamenting and breaking out into these plaints and womanly moans, reported by the poet Simonides in these words:

> The roaring noise of purple sea,
> Resounding all about,
> Doth fright me much, and so enclose,
> That I cannot get out;

but rather he will bear in mind and discourse with himself the speech that Philip, King of Macedonia, sometime delivered: for when his hap was in the wrestling place to fall backward and lie along on the ground; after he was up again upon his feet, and saw the whole proportion and print of his body in the dust of the floor: O Hercules (quoth he), what a small deal of the earth is our portion by the appointment of nature, and yet see how we will not rest, but covet to conquer the whole world that is habitable.

You have seen (I suppose) the isle Naxos; if not, yet at leastwise the island Thuria near by; of which twain this was in old time the habitation of Orion; but in the other there dwelt Ephialtes and Otus: as for Alcmæon, he made his abode and residence upon the muddy bank, which the river Achelous had newly gathered and cast up, after it was a little dried and compact together, to avoid the pursuit (as the poets say) of the Furies; but in my conceit rather, because he would decline the offices of state, civil magistracies, seditious broils, and biting

calumniations sib to furies in hell, he chose such a strait and narrow place to inhabit, where he might lead a life in quietness and repose, secured from all such busy affairs. And Tiberius Cæsar, in his latter days, lived seven years (even until his death) in the little island Caprea, in such wise, as the very temple and imperial throne of the whole world retired and drawn in (as it were) into the heart, for all that time never went out from thence; and yet for his part, the ordinary cares incident unto the empire, which were brought from all parts and came upon him to amuse his head continually on every side, would not permit him to enjoy clearly without turbulent anguish of mind that intended rest and quietness of his in the said island. But even that man, who may by his departure into some little island be freed and delivered from no small troubles and calamities, is notwithstanding miserable if he do not eftsoons say unto himself when he is apart, yea, and chant oftentimes these verses of Pindarus:

> Love well the place where cypress trees do grow,
> But thin and small. The forest great let go
> Of Candie isle, about the Ida hill:
> As for myself, small lands I hold and till,
> By fortune given, and those without an oak;
> My heart likewise no griefs nor cares do yoke.

Exempt I am from civil tumults and seditions; I am not subject to the command of princes and governors; my hand is not in the charge and administration of state affairs, nor in any public ministries or services, which hardly admit excuse or refusal. For considering that Callimachus seemeth not unwisely in one place to say thus: Measure not wisdom by the Persian *schœne:* why then should we (meting felicity with *schœnes* and *parasangs*) complain, lament and torment ourselves, as if we were unhappy, if our fortune be to dwell in a little isle which is not in circuit above two hundred furlongs, and nothing near four days' sailing about, as Sicily is? for what good can a spacious and large region do for to procure felicity, or make a man to lead a quiet and peaceable life? Hear you not how Tantalus in the tragedy crieth out, and saith thus:

> The spacious land and country large,
> Call'd Berecynthian plain,
> Days' journeys twelve right out, I sow
> Yearly with corn and grain;

and a little after he proceedeth to this speech:

But now, my soul, sometime an heavenly power,
Descended thence into this earthly bower,
Speaks thus to me: Learn, and betimes take heed,
Love not this world too much, I do thee rede.

And Nausithous, leaving the wide and large country Hyperia, for that the Cyclopes were so near neighbours unto it, and departing into an island far remote from other men, where he lived alone by himself without conversing with any people,

From other mortal men apart,
Of surging sea within the heart,

provided for his citizens and subjects a most pleasant life. As for the islands called Cyclades, they were at first (by report) inhabited by the children of Minos, and afterwards the offspring of Codrus and Neleus held the same, into which foolish persons nowadays think themselves sore punished and undone for ever if they be confined. And yet, what island is there destined and appointed for exiled and banished people but it is larger than the territory Scilluntia, wherein Xenophon, after that renowned expedition and voyage of his into Persia, passed his old age in elegancy and much happiness? semblably, the Academy, a little pingle or plot of ground, the purchase whereof cost not above three thousand drachms, was the habitation of Plato, Xenocrates and Polemon, wherein they kept their schools, and lived at repose all their lifetime: and yet I must needs except one day every year, upon which Xenocrates was wont to go down to the city, for to see the plays and pastimes exhibited with new tragedies at the feast called Bacchanals, only to honour (as folk said) and countenance that solemnity with his personal presence. Also Theocritus of Chios challenged and reproached Aristotle many times, for that to live in the court of Philip and Alexander,

Upon the mouth of Borborus to dwell
He chose, and Academy bade farewell.

Now was this Borborus a river, so called by the Macedonians, which ran along the city of Pella in Macedonia. As for islands, Homer the poet doth of purpose and expressly recommend unto us and celebrate them with heavenly and divine praises in this wise:

At Lemnos he arrived then,
Whereas the city stood,
In which sometime that prince divine,
King Thoas made abode:
And whatsoever Lesbos isle,
The palace and the seat
Of gods above contains enclos'd
Within her pourpris great.

Also:

When won he had the stately isle,
Which Scyros sometime hight,
The native place and town of Mars,
The god of arms and fight.

Likewise:

And those came from Dulichium,
And eke the sacred isles,
Against Elis, Echinades
Within sea many miles.

Moreover, it is said that of famous and renowned men, devout Æolus, and best beloved of the gods, dwelt in one isle; the most prudent and wise Ulysses in another; Ajax likewise, that right valiant and hardy warrior, and Alcinous, the most courteous prince for hospitality and entertainment of strangers, were islanders. Zeno the philosopher, when news was brought unto him that the ship of his which remained alone of all the rest was drowned in the sea with all the freight and merchandise therein: Thou hast done well, O fortune (quoth he), to drive us to our studying gown and philosopher's life again; even so, in mine opinion, there is no reason that a man (unless he be very much besotted and transported with the vain wind of popularity), when he is confined and enclosed within an island, should complain of fortune therefore, but rather praise her, for that she hath rid him of much anguish of spirit and trouble of his head, delivered him from tedious travel and wandering pilgrimages up and down in the world from place to place; freed him from the perils of sea, removed him from the tumultuous stirs of the multitude in judicial courts and public assemblies of the city; and reduced him to a settled and staid life, full of rest and tranquillity, not distracted with any superfluous and needless occupations, wherein he may live indeed properly to himself, being ranged within the centre and circumference of those things which are required only for necessity. For what island is there which hath not housen, walking places, stouphs and bains, or that is without fishes or hares, if a man be disposed to pass the time in fishing or hunting; and that which is the greatest matter of all, you may oftentimes there enjoy fully your rest and repose, which other do so much thirst and hunger after; for whereas when we are haply playing at dice, or otherwise keeping close at home, there will be some of these sycophants or busy priers and curious searchers into all our actions, ready to draw us out of our houses of pleasure in the suburbs, or out of our delightsome gardens, to make our apparence judicially in

the common place, or to perform our service and give attendance in the court: there will be none such about to sail into the island where thou art confined for to trouble thee; none will come to thee to demand or crave anything, to borrow money, to request thy suretyship, or thy assistance for to second him in the suit of any office and magistracy; unless peradventure some of thy best friends only and nearest kinsfolk, of mere love and affectionate desire to see thee, sail over for thy sake; for the rest of thy life besides is permitted to be as free and safe as a sanctuary, not subject to any spoil, trouble or molestation, if thou be willing and can skill to use thy liberty and repose.

As for him who thinketh those to be happy who trudge up and down in the world abroad, spending most part of their time out of their own houses, either in common inns and hostelries, or else in ferrying from place to place, he is much like unto him that supposeth the wandering planets to be in a better state than the other stars which be fixed in the firmament and remove not; and yet there is not one of the said planets but is carried round in a peculiar and proper sphere of their own, as it were in a certain isle, keeping always a just order in their revolution: for according as Heraclitus saith; The very sun himself will never pass beyond his bounds; and if he do, the furies which are the ministers of justice will find him out and be ready to encounter him. But these and all such-like reasons, my good friend, we are to allege unto them and sing in their ears, who being sent away and confined to some one isle, cannot possibly change for another country, nor have commerce and dealing in any place else whatsoever, those I say,

> Whom surging waves of sea both night and day
> Enclose perforce, and cause them there to stay.

As for you unto whom no certain place is limited and assigned for to inhabit, but who are debarred and excluded only out of one, are thus to think, that the exclusion out of one city alone is an overture and ready way made unto all others.

Now if any man will object and say; In this case of exile and banishment we are disabled for bearing rule and office of state, we sit not at council table in the senate house; we are not presidents in the public plays and solemnities, etc. You may answer and reply again in this manner; Neither are we troubled with factions and civil dissensions; we are not called upon nor charged with payments in public levies and exactions; neither be we bound to make court unto great governors, and to give

attendance at their gates; nor to take care and regard whether he who is chosen to succeed us in the government of our province be either hasty and choleric, or otherwise given to oppression and hard dealing: but as Archilochus, making no account at all of the fruitful corn-fields and plenteous vineyards in Thasos, despised and contemned the whole isle because of some other rough, hard, and uneven places in it, giving out thereof in these terms:

> This island like an ass's back doth stick,
> All overspread with woods so wild and thick:

even so we, casting our eyes and fixing them upon that part only of exile which is the worst and vilest of the rest, do contemn and make no reckoning of the repose from business, the liberty also and leisure which it doth afford. And yet the kings of Persia be reputed happy, in that they pass their winter time in Babylon, the summer in Media, and the most sweet and pleasant part of the spring at Susæ. May not he likewise who is departed out of his own native country during the solemnity of the mysteries of Ceres, make his abode within the city Eleusine; all the time of the Bacchanals, celebrate that feast in Argos; and when the Pythian games and plays are exhibited, go to Delphos; as also when the Isthmian pastimes be represented, make a journey likewise to Corinth? in case he be a man who taketh pleasure in the diversity of shews and public spectacles, if not, then either sit still and rest, or else walk up and down, read somewhat, or take a nap of sweet sleep without molestation or interruption of any man; and according as Diogenes was wont to say, Aristotle dineth when it pleaseth King Philip; but Diogenes taketh his dinner when Diogenes thinketh it good himself, without any business and affairs to distract him, and no magistrate, ruler or captain there was to interrupt his ordinary time and manner of diet. This is the reason why very few of the wisest and most prudent men that ever were have been buried in the countries where they were born; but the most part of them without any constraint or necessity to enforce them, have willingly weighed anchor, and of their own accord sailed to another road or haven to harbour in, and there to lead their life; for some of them have departed to Athens, others have forsaken Athens and gone to other places: for what man ever gave out such a commendation of his own native country, as did Euripides in these verses, in the person of a woman:

Our people all at first no strangers were,
From foreign parts who hither did arrive;
Time out of mind those that inhabit here
Were born in place, and so remain'd alive.
All cities else and nations at one word
With aliens peopled be, who like to men
At table play, or else upon chess-board
Removed have, and leapt, some now, some then.
If women, we may be allow'd to grace
Our native soil, and with proud words exalt,
Presume we dare to say that in this place,
A temperate air we have without default,
Where neither heat nor cold excessive is;
If ought there be that noble Greece doth yield,
Or Asia rich, of best commodities,
And daintiest fruits, by river or by field,
We have it here, in foison plentiful
To hunt, to catch, to reap, to crop and pull.

And yet even he who hath set such goodly praises upon his native country, left the same, went into Macedonia, and there lived in the court of King Archelaus. You have heard likewise (I suppose) this little epigram in verse:

Interred and entombed lieth here
Euphorion's son, the poet Æschylus
(In Athens town though born sometime he were),
To Gelas near, in corn so plenteous.

For he also abandoned his own country, and went to dwell in Sicily, like as Simonides did before him. And whereas this title or inscription is commonly read (*This is the history written by Herodotus the Halicarnassean*), many there be who correct it and write in this manner, *Herodotus the Thurian*, for that he removed out of the country wherein he was born, became an inhabitant among the Thurians, and enjoyed the freedom of that colony. As for that heavenly and divine spirit in the knowledge of muses and poetry:

Homerus, who with wondrous pen,
Set forth the battles Phrygian,

what was it that caused so many cities to debate about the place of his nativity, challenging every one unto themselves, but only this; that he seemed not to praise and extol any one city above the rest? Moreover, to Jupiter, surnamed Hospital, know we not that there be many, and those right great, honours done.

Now if any one shall say unto me, that these personages were all of them ambitious, aspiring to great honour and glory, do no more, but have recourse unto the sages, and those wise schools and learned colleges of Athens; call to mind and consider the

renowned clerks and famous philosophers, either in Lycæum or the Academy: go to the gallery Stoa, the learned school Palladium, or the music-school Odæum. If you affect, love and admire above all other the sect of the Peripatetics, Aristotle, the prince thereof, was born in Stagira, a city of Macedonia; Theophrastus in Eressus; Strato came from Lampsacus; Glycon from Troas; Ariston from Chios; and Critolaus from Phaselus. If your mind stand more to praise the Stoics, Cleanthes was of Assos; Zeno was a Citiean; Chrysippus came from Soli; Diogenes from Babylon; and Antipater from Tharsus; and Archidamus, being an Athenian born, went to dwell among the Parthians, and left behind him at Babylon in succession the Stoic discipline and philosophy. Who was it that chased and drave these men out of their native countries? certes, none but even of their own accord and voluntary motion they sought all abroad for their contentment and repose, which hardly or not at all can they enjoy at home in their own houses who are in any authority and reputation; so that, as they have taught us very well out of their books, other good sciences which they professed, so this one point of living in quietness and rest they have shewed unto us by practice and example. And even in these days also, the most renowned and approved clerks, yea, and greatest men of mark and name, live in strange countries, far remote from their own habitations; not transported by others, but of themselves removing thither; not banished, sent away and confined, but willing to fly and avoid the troublesome affairs, negotiations and business which their native countries amuse them with.

That this is true, it may appear by the most approved, excellent and commendable works and compositions which ancient writers have left unto posterity; for the absolute finishing whereof it seemeth that the Muses used the help and means of their exile. Thus Thucydides the Athenian penned the war between the Peloponnesians and the Athenians whiles he was in Thracia, and namely, near unto a place called the For estof the Fosse. Xenophon compiled his story at Scillos in Elea; Philip wrote in Epirus; Timæus, who was born at Taurominum in Sicily, became a writer in Athens; Androtion the Athenian at Megaræ, and Bachilides the poet in Peloponnesus; who all and many others besides, being banished out of their countries, were never discouraged nor cast down, but shewed the vivacity and vigour of their good spirits, and took their exile at fortune's hands as a good maintenance and pro-

vision of their journey; by means whereof they live in fame and renown now after their death: whereas on the other side, there remaineth no memorial at all of those by whose factions and sidings they were driven out and exiled. And therefore he deserveth to be well mocked who thinketh that banishment carrieth with it some note of infamy and reproach as necessarily adherent thereto. For what say you to this? Is Diogenes to be counted infamous, whom when King Alexander saw sitting in the sun, he approached near, and standing by him, demanded whether he stood in need of anything or no? he had no other answer from him but this, that he had need of nothing else but that he should stand a little out of the sunshine, and not shadow him as he did; whereupon Alexander, wondering at his magnanimity and haughty courage, said presently unto those friends that were about him; If I were not Alexander I would be Diogenes. And was Camillus disgraced any way for being banished out of Rome, considering that even at this day he is reputed and taken for the second founder thereof? Neither lost Themistocles the glory which he had won among the Greeks by his exile, but rather acquired thereto great honour and estimation with the barbarians. And no man is there so base-minded and careless of honour and credit but he would choose rather to be Themistocles, banished as he was, than Leobates his accuser, and the cause of his banishment; yea, and to be Cicero, who was exiled, than Clodius, who chased him out of Rome; or Timotheus, who was constrained to abandon and forsake his native country, than Aristophon, who indicted him and caused him to leave the same. But for that the authority of Euripides, who seemeth mightily to defame and condemn banishment, moveth many men; let us consider what be his several questions and answers to this point:

> Jocasta. How then! is it a great calamity
> To lose the place of our nativity?
> Polynices. The greatest cross I hold it is doubtless,
> And more indeed than my tongue can express.
> Jocasta. The manner would I gladly understand,
> And what doth grieve man shut from native land?
> Polynices. This one thing first, the sorest grief must be,
> That of their speech they have not liberty.
> Jocasta. A spite it is, no doubt, and that of servile kind,
> For men to be debarr'd to speak their mind.
> Polynices. Besides, they must endure the foolishness
> And ignorance of rulers more or less.

But herein I cannot allow of his sentence and opinion as well and truly delivered. For first and foremost, not to speak what

a man thinketh is not the point of a slavish and base person, but rather he is to be counted a wise and prudent man who can hold his tongue at those times and in such occasions as require taciturnity and silence; which the same poet hath taught us in another place more wisely, when he saith:

> Silence is good when that it doth avail,
> Likewise to speak in time and not to fail.

And as for the folly and ignorance of great and mighty persons, we must abide no less when we tarry at home than in exile; nay, it falleth out many times that men at home fear much more the calumniations and violence of those who unjustly are in high places of authority within cities, than if they were abroad and out of their own countries. Again, this also is most false and absurd, that the said poet depriveth banished persons of their liberty and frank speech. Certes, this were a wonderful matter, that Theodorus wanted his freedom of tongue, considering that when King Lysimachus said unto him: And hath thy country chased and cast thee out, being so great a person among them? Yea (quoth he again), for that it was no more able to bear me than Semele to bear Bacchus: neither was he daunted and afraid, notwithstanding that the king shewed unto him Telesphorus enclosed within an iron cage, whose eyes he had caused before to be pulled out of his head, his nose and ears to be cropt, and his tongue to be cut, adding withal these words: See how I handle those that displease and abuse my person. And what shall we say of Diogenes? Wanted he (think you) his liberty of speech? who being come into the camp of King Philip, at what time as he made an expedition against the Grecians, invaded their country and was ready to give them battle, was apprehended and brought before the king as a spy, and charged therewith: I am indeed (quoth he) come hither to spy your insatiable avarice, ambition and folly, who are about now to hazard in one hour (as it were) with the cast of a die, not only your crown and dignity, but also your life and person; semblably, what think you of Annibal the Carthaginian? was he tongue-tied before Antiochus, banished though himself were, and the other a mighty monarch? For when he advised Antiochus to take the opportunity presented unto him, and to give battle unto the Romans his enemies, and the king having sacrificed unto the gods, answered again, that the entrails of the beast killed for sacrifice would not permit, but forbade him so to do: Why then (quoth he by way of reproof and rebuke), you

will do that belike which a piece of dead flesh biddeth you, and not that which a man of wisdom and understanding counselleth you unto. But neither geometricians, nor those that use lineary demonstrations, if haply they be banished, are deprived of their liberty, but that they may discourse and speak frankly of their art and science of such things as they have learned and known: how then should good, honest, and honourable persons be debarred of that freedom, in case they be exiled? But in truth, it is cowardice and baseness of mind which always stoppeth the voice, tieth the tongue, stifleth the wind-pipe, and causeth men to be speechless. But proceed we to that which followeth afterwards in Euripides:

> Jocasta. But thus we say, those that are banished
> With hopes always of better days be fed.
> Polynices. Good eyes they have, afar off they do see,
> Staying for things that most uncertain be.

Certainly these words imply rather a blame and reprehension of folly than of exile. For they be not those who have learned and do know how to apply themselves unto things present, and to use their estate such as it is, but such as continually depend upon the expectance of future fortunes, and covet evermore that which is absent and wanting, who are tossed to and fro with hope as in a little punt or boat floating upon the water; yea, although they were never in their lifetime without the walls of the city wherein they were born: moreover whereas we read in the same Euripides:

> Jocasta. Thy father's friends and allies, have not they
> Been kind and helpful to thee, as they may?
> Polynices. Look to thyself, from troubles God thee bless,
> Friend's help is naught, if one be in distress.
> Jocasta. Thy noble blood, from whence thou art descended:
> Hath it not thee advanc'd and much amended?
> Polynices. I hold it ill to be in want and need,
> For parentage and birth doth not men feed.

These speeches of Polynices are not only untrue, but also bewray his unthankfulness, when he seemeth thus to blame his want of honour and due regard for his nobility, and to complain that he was destitute of friends by occasion of his exile, considering that in respect of his noble birth, banished though he were, yet so highly honoured he was that he was thought worthy to be matched in marriage with a king's daughter, and as for friends, allies and confederates, he was able to gather a puissant army of them, by whose aid and power he returned into his own

country by force of arms, as himself testifieth a little after in these words:

> Many a lord and captain brave here stands
> With me in field, both from Mycenæ bright,
> And cities more of Greece, whose helping hands
> (Though loth) I must needs use in claim of right.

Much like also be the speeches of his mother, lamenting in this wise:

> No nuptial torch at all I lighted have
> To thee, as doth a wedding feast beseem,
> No marriage song was sung, nor thee to lave
> Was water brought from fair Ismenus stream;

whom it had become and behoved rather to rejoice and be glad in heart, when she heard that her son was so highly advanced and married into so royal an house; but in taking grief and sorrow herself that there was no wedding torch lighted, and that the river Ismenus afforded no water to bathe in at his wedding; as if new-married bridegrooms could not be furnished either with fire or water in the city Argos; she attributeth unto exile the inconveniences which more truly proceed from vanity and folly.

But some man will say unto me; That to be banished is a note of ignominy and reproach: true it is indeed, but among fools only, who think likewise that it is a shame to be poor, to be bald, to be small of stature, yea, and to be a stranger forsooth, a tenant, inmate or alien inhabitant: For certes, such as will not suffer themselves to be carried away with these vain persuasions, nor do subscribe thereto, esteem and have in admiration good and honest persons, never respecting whether they be poor, strangers and banished or no: Do we not see that all the world doth honour and reverence the temple of Theseus as well as Parthenon and Eleusinium, temples dedicated to Minerva, Ceres and Proserpina? and yet was Theseus banished from Athens; even that Theseus by whose means the same city was first peopled, and is at this day inhabited; and that city lost he which he held not from another, but founded first himself. As for Eleusis, what beauty at all would remain in it, if we dishonour Eumolpus and be ashamed of him who removing out of Thracia, instituted at first among the Greeks the religion of sacred mysteries, which continueth in force and is observed at this day? what shall we say of Codrus, who became king of Athens? whose son, I pray you, was he? was not Melanthius his father a banished man from Messina? Can you chuse but

commend the answer of Antisthenes to one who said unto him; Thy mother is a Phrygian: So was (quoth he) the mother of the gods: why answer you not likewise when you are reproached with your banishment? even so was the father of that victorious conqueror Hercules: the grandsire likewise of Bacchus, who being sent out for to seek Lady Europa, never returned back into his native country:

> For being a Phœnician born,
> At Thebes he after did arrive,
> Far from his native soil beforn,
> And there begat a son belive,
> Who Bacchus did engender tho',
> That moves to fury women, hight
> Mad Bacchæs, running to and fro,
> In service, such is his delight.

As for that which the poet Æschylus would seem covertly by these dark words to insinuate, or rather to shew afar off, when he saith thus:

> And chaste Apollo, sacred though he were,
> Yet banished a time, heaven did forbear,

I am content to pass over in silence, and will forbear to utter according as Herodotus saith: and whereas Empedocles in the very beginning of his philosophy maketh this preface:

> An ancient law there stands in force,
> Decreed by gods above,
> Grounded upon necessity,
> And never to remove:
> That after man hath stain'd his hands
> In bloodshed horrible,
> And in remorse of sin is vext
> With horror terrible,
> The long-liv'd angels which attend
> In heaven, shall chase him quite,
> For many thousand years from view
> Of every blessed wight:
> By virtue of this law, am I
> From gods exiled now,
> And wander here and there throughout
> The world I know not how.

This he meaneth not of himself alone, but of all us after him, whom he declareth and sheweth by these words to be mere strangers, passengers, foreigners and banished persons in this world. For it is not blood (quoth he), O men, nor vital spirit contemperate together, that hath given unto us the substance of our soul and beginning of our life; but hereof is the body only composed and framed, which is earthly and mortal; but the generation of the soul which cometh another way, and

descendeth hither into these parts beneath, he doth mitigate and seem to disguise by the most gentle and mild name that he could devise, calling it a kind of pilgrimage from the natural place; but to use the right term indeed, and to speak according to the very truth, she doth vague and wander as banished, chased and driven by the divine laws and statutes to and fro, until such time as it settleth to a body, as an oyster or shellfish to one rock or other in an island beaten and dashed upon with many winds and waves of the sea round about (as Plato saith), for that it doth not remember nor call to mind from what height of honour and from how blessed an estate it is translated, not changing, as a man would say, Sardis for Athens, nor Corinth for Lemnos or Scyros, but her resiance in the very heaven and about the moon, with the abode upon earth, and with a terrestrial life; whereas it thinketh it strange and as much discontented here for that it hath made exchange of one place for another not far distant; much like unto a poor plant that by removing doth degenerate and begin to wither away: and yet we see that for certain plants some soil is more commodious and sortable than another, wherein they will like, thrive, and prosper better: whereas contrariwise there is no place that taketh from a man his felicity, no more than it doth his virtue, fortitude or wisdom: for Anaxagoras during the time that he was in prison wrote his quadrature of the circle: and Socrates, even when he drunk poison, discoursed as a philosopher, exhorting his friends and familiars to the study of philosophy, and was by them reputed happy; but contrariwise, Phaëthon and Icarus, who (as the poets do report) would needs mount up into heaven, through their own folly and inconsiderate rashness fell into most grievous and woeful calamities.

THAT WE OUGHT NOT TO TAKE UP MONEY UPON USURY

THE SUMMARY

[The covetous desire of earthly goods is a passion incurable, but especially after that it hath gotten the mastery of the soul, in such sort as the advertisements which are made in regard of covetous men be not proposed for anything else but for the profit and benefit of those persons who are to keep themselves from the nets and snares of these enemies of human society. Now among all those who have need of good counsels in this behalf, we must range them that take up money upon interest, who serving as a prey and booty to these greedy and hungry hunters, ought so much the rather to look unto their own preservation, if they would not be cruelly devoured. And as this infortunity hath been in the world ever since the entry of sin, that always some or other, yea, and great numbers, have endeavoured to make their commodity and gain by the loss and damage of their neighbours; so we may see here that in Plutarch's time things were grown to a wonderful confusion, the which is nothing diminished since, but contrariwise it seemeth that in these our days it is come to the very height. And for to apply some remedy hereto, our author leaveth usurers altogether as persons graceless, reprobate, and uncapable of all remonstrance, addressing himself unto borrowers, to the end that he might discover and lay open unto them the snares and nets into which they plunge themselves; and this he doth without specifying or particularising over-near of usury, because there is no mean or measure limited nor any end of this furious desire of gathering and heaping up things corruptible. Considering then that covetous folk have neither nerve nor vein that reacheth or tendeth to the pity of their neighbours, meet it is and good reason that borrowers should have some mercy and compassion of themselves, to weigh and ponder well the grave discourses of this author, and to apply the same unto the right use. He saith, therefore, that the principal means to keep and save themselves from the teeth of usury is to make the best of their own, and shift with those things that they have about them, before they approach unto the den of this hungry and greedy beast, and that men ought to make an hand and quick dispatch of that which is not very necessary before they come thither; where he taxeth those who had leifer lay to gage and pawn their goods, and remain under the burden of usury, than to sell up all and disgage themselves at once. After this, he presenteth the true remedy of this mischief, namely, to spare and spend in measure; and to cause us to be more wary and better advised, he proposeth the lively image of this

horrible monster, whom we call an usurer, describing him in his colours, with all his practices and passions. Which done, he sheweth the source of borrowing money upon interest, and the way to stop the same; he directeth his pen particularly first unto the poor, giving them a goodly lesson, and then unto the richer sort, teaching the one as well as the other how they are to demean and carry themselves, that they be not exposed to the clutches of usurers. And for a conclusion, he exhorteth them to behold the example of certain philosophers by name, who chose rather to abandon and forsake all their goods than to undo themselves in the possession and holding thereof.]

PLATO, in his books of Laws, permitteth not one neighbour to make bold with another's water, before he have digged and sunk a pit so deep in his own ground that he is come to a vein of clay or potter's earth; until (I say) he have sounded thoroughly and found that the plot of ground is not apt to engender water, or yield a spring [for the said potter's clay being by nature fatty, solid and strong, retaineth that moisture which it hath once received, and will not let it soak or pass through]; but allowed they are, and ought to furnish themselves with water from others, when they have no means to find any of their own, forasmuch as the law intendeth to provide for men's necessity, and not to favour their idleness; even so there ought to be an ordinance and act as touching money; That it might not be lawful for those to borrow upon usury, nor to go into other men's purses (as it were) to draw water at their wells or pits, before they have cast about all means at home, searched every way, and gathered (as it were) from every gutter and spring, trying and assaying how to draw and come by that which may serve their own turns, and supply their present necessities. But now it falleth out contrariwise, that many there be who to furnish their foolish and riotous expenses, or else to accomplish their superfluous and chargeable delights, never serve their own turns, nor make use of those things which they have, but are ready to seek unto others, even to their great cost, though they stand in no need at all: for an undoubted and certain proof hereof, mark how usurers do not ordinarily put forth their money unto those who are in necessity and distress, but to such as be desirous to purchase and get that which is superfluous, and whereof they stand not in need; insomuch as that which is credited out and delivered unto him that borroweth, is a good proof and sufficient testimony that he hath somewhat to take to of his own; whereas indeed he ought (since he hath wherewith) to look unto it that he take not upon interest, and contrariwise, not to be credited

nor to be in the usurer's book, is an argument that such an one is needy.

Why dost thou repair and make court (as it were) obsequiously to a banker or merchant? go thy ways and borrow of thine own bank, make a friend of thine own stock; flagons thou hast and pots, chargers, basons and dishes all of silver plate; employ the same about thy necessities, for to supply thy wants, and when thou hast disfurnished thy table and cupboard, the gentle town Aulis, or else the isle Tenedos, will make up all again with fair vessel of earth and pottery which is much more neat and pure than those of silver; for these carry not the strong smell nor unpleasant scent of usury, which like rust or canker, every day more and more sullieth, fretteth and eateth into thy costly magnificence; these will not put thee in mind daily of the calends and new moons, which being in itself the most sacred and holy day of the month, is by means of the usurers become odious and accursed. For as touching those who choose rather to lay their goods to gage, and to pawn them for to borrow money thereupon and pay for use, than to sell them right out, I am verily persuaded that god Jupiter himself, surnamed Ctesius, that is, Possessor, cannot save them from beggary. Abashed they are to receive the price and value of their goods to the worth; but they be not ashamed to pay interest for the loan of money. And yet that wise and politic Pericles caused the costly robe and attire of the statue of Minerva, weighing forty talents in fine gold, to be made in such sort, that he might take it off and put it on as he would at his pleasure; To the end (quoth he) that when we stand in need of money for maintenance of war, we may serve our turns therewith for the time, and afterwards put in the place again another of no less weight and worth; even so we likewise in our occasions and affairs, like as in the besieging of a city, ought never to admit the garrison of an usurer or enemy, nor to endure to see before our eyes our own goods delivered out for to continue in perpetual servitude, but rather to cut off from our table all that is neither profitable nor necessary; likewise from our beds, from our couches, and our ordinary expenses in diet whatsoever is needless, thereby to maintain and keep ourselves free, in hope and with full intent to supply and make amends again for it, if fortune afterwards smile upon us. Certes, the Roman dames in times past were willing to part with their jewels and ornaments of gold, yea, and give them away as an offering of first-fruits to Apollo Pythius, whereof was made a golden cup, and the same sent to

the city of Delphi. And the matrons of Carthage shore the hair of their heads to make thereof twisted cords for to wind up and bend their engines and instruments of artillery in the defence of their country, when the city was besieged.

But we, as if we were ashamed of our own sufficiency and to stand upon our own bottoms, seek to enthral ourselves by gages and obligations; whereas it behoved us much more by restraining ourselves and reducing all to such things only as be profitable and good for us, of those needless, unprofitable and superfluous vessels which we have, after they be either melted, broken in pieces, or sold, to build a privileged chapel of liberty for ourselves, our wives and children. For the goddess Diana in Ephesus yielded sanctuary, franchise, and safeguard unto all debtors against their creditors who fled for succour into her temple. But the sanctuary indeed of parsimony, frugality, and moderate expense, into which no usurers can make entry, for to hale and pull out of it any debtor prisoner, standeth always open for those that are wise, and affordeth unto them a large space of joyous and honourable repose. For like as that prophetess which gave oracles in the temple of Pythius Apollo, about the time of the Medians' war, made answer unto the Athenian ambassadors: That God gave unto them for their safety a wall of wood; whereupon they leaving their lands and possessions, abandoning their city, and forsaking their houses and all the goods therein, had recourse unto their ships for to save their liberty; even so, God giveth unto us wooden tables, earthen vessels, and garments of coarse cloth, if we would live in freedom:

> Set not thy mind upon steeds of great price,
> And chariots brave in silver harness dight,
> With clasps, with hooks, and studs by fine device
> Ywrought, in race to show a goodly sight;

for how swift soever they be, these usurers will soon overtake them and run beyond. But rather get upon the next ass thou meetest with, or the first pack-horse that cometh in thy way, to fly from the usurer, a cruel enemy and mere tyrant, who demandeth not at thy hands fire and water, as sometimes did that barbarous king of Media; but that which worse is, toucheth thy liberty, woundeth thine honour and credit by proscriptions, writs, and open proclamations. If thou pay him not to his content he is ready to trouble thee; if thou have wherewith to satisfy him, he will not receive thy payment unless he list; if thou prize and sell thy goods, he will have them under their

worth; art thou not disposed to make a sale of them? he will force thee to it; dost thou sue him for his extreme dealing, he will seem to offer parley of agreement; if thou swear unto him that thou wilt make payment, he will impose upon thee hard conditions, and have thee at command; if thou go to his house for to speak and confer with him, he will lock the gates against thee; and if thou stay at home and keep house, thou shalt have him rapping at thy door; he will not away, but take up his lodging there with thee. For in what stead served the law of Solon in Athens, wherein it was ordained that among the Athenians men's bodies should not be obliged for any civil debt? considering that they be in bondage and slavery to all bankers and usurers who force men to keep in their heads; and that which more is, not to them alone (for that were not such a great matter), but even to their very slaves, being proud, insolent, barbarous, and outrageous, such as Plato describeth the devils and fiery executioners in hell to be who torment the souls of wicked and godless persons. For surely these cursed usurers make thy hall and judicial place of justice no better than a very hell and place of torment to their poor debtors, where after the manner of greedy geirs and hungry grisons, or they slay, mangle and eat them to the very bones:

> And of their beaks and talons keen,
> The marks within their flesh be seen.

And some of them they stand continually over, not suffering them to touch and taste their own proper goods; when they have done their vintage and gathered in their corn and other fruits of the earth, making them fast and pine away like unto Tantalus. And like as King Darius sent against the city of Athens his lieutenants-general Datis and Artaphernes, with chains, cords, and halters in their hands, therewith to bind the prisoners which they should take; semblably these usurers bring into Greece with them their boxes and caskets full of schedules, bills, handwritings and contracts obligatory, which be as good as so many irons and fetters to hang upon their poor debtors; and thus they go up and down, leaping from city to city, where they sow not as they pass along good and profitable seed, as Triptolemus did in old time; but plant their roots of debts, which bring forth infinite troubles and intolerable usuries, whereof there is no end, which eating as they go and spreading their spurnes round about, in the end cause whole cities to stoop and sink, yea, and be ready to suffocate and strangle them. It

is reported of hares that at one time they suckle young leverets and be ready to kinnule others that be in their bellies, and withal to conceive afresh: but the debts of these barbarous, wicked and cruel usurers do bring forth before they conceive. For in putting out their money they re-demand it presently; in laying it down they take it up, they deliver that again for interest which they received and took in consideration of loan and use. It is said of the Messenians' city:

> Gate after gate a man shall here find,
> And yet one gate there's always behind.

But it may better be said of usurers:

> Usury here upon usury doth grow,
> And end thereof you never shall know.

And here withal in some sort they laugh at natural philosophers, who hold this axiom, That of nothing can be engendered nothing: for with them usury is bred of that which neither is, nor ever was; of that I say which never had subsistence nor being. Howbeit, these men think it a shame and reproach to be a publican, and take to farm for a rent the public revenues, notwithstanding the laws do permit and allow that calling, whereas themselves against all the laws of the world exact a rent and custom for that which they put forth to usury; or rather, to speak a truth, in lending their money they defraud their debtors as bankrupts do their creditors. For the poor debtor, who receiveth less than he hath set down in his obligation, is most falsely cozened, deceived and cut short of that which he ought to have.

And verily, the Persians repute lying to be a sin, but in a second degree: for in the first place they reckon to owe money and be indebted; inasmuch as leasing followeth commonly those that be in debt. But yet usurers lie more than they, neither are there any that practise more falsehood and deceit in their day debt books wherein they write, that to such a one they have delivered so much, whereas indeed it is far less; and so the motive of their lying is fair avarice, and neither indigence nor poverty, but even a miserable covetousness and desire ever to have more and more; the end whereof turneth neither to pleasure nor profit unto themselves, but to the loss and ruin of those whom they wring and wrong: for neither till they those grounds which they take away from their debtors; nor dwell in the houses out of which they turn them; nor eat their meat upon those tables which they have from them; nor yet clad

themselves with their apparel of which they spoil them; but first, one is destroyed, then a second followeth after, and is allured as a prey by the other. And this is much like to a wild fire, which still consumeth, and yet increaseth always by the utter decay and destruction of all that falleth into it, and devoureth one thing after another. And the usurer which maintaineth this fire, blowing and kindling it with the ruin of so many people, gaineth thereby no more fruit than this, that after a certain time he taketh his book of accounts in hand, and there readeth what a number of debtors he hath bought out of house and home, how many he hath dispossessed of their land and living, from whence he hath come and whither he hath gone in turning, winding, and heaping up his silver. Now I would not that you should thus think of me, that I speak all this upon any deadly war and enmity that I have sworn against usurers:

> For God be praised, they neither horses mine
> Have driven away, nor oxen, nor yet kine;

but only to shew unto them who are so ready to take up money upon usury, what a villanous, shameful, and base thing there is in it, and how this proceedeth from nothing else but extreme folly and timidity of heart. If thou have wherewith to weld the world, never come into the usurer's book, considering thou hast no need to borrow. Hast thou not wherewith, yet take not money up and pay not interest, because thou shalt have no means to make payment.

But let us consider the one and the other apart by itself. Old Cato said unto a certain aged man, who behaved himself very badly: My friend (quoth he), considering that old age of itself hath so many evils, how cometh it to pass that you add thereto moreover the reproach and shame of lewdness and misdemeanour? even so may we say, seeing that poverty of itself hath so many and so great miseries, do not you over and above go and heap thereupon the troubles and anguishes that come of borrowing and being in debt; neither take thou from penury that only good thing wherein it excelleth riches, to wit, the want of carking and pensive cares; for otherwise thou shalt be subject unto the mockery implied by this common proverb:

> A goat alone when bear unneth I may,
> An ox upon my shoulder you do lay.

Semblably, you being not able to sustain poverty alone, do surcharge yourself with an usurer, a burden hardly supportable even for a rich and wealthy man. How then would you have

me to live? Haply some man will say: And dost thou indeed ask this question, having hands and feet of thine own? having the gift of speech, voice, and being a man, unto whom it is given both to love and also to be loved; as well to do a pleasure as to receive a courtesy with thanksgiving. Thou mayest teach grammar, bring up young children, be a porter or door-keeper; thou mayest be a sailor or mariner, thou mayest row in a barge or galley: for none of all these trades is more reproachful, odious or troublesome than to hear one say unto thee: Pay me mine own, or discharge the debt that thou owest me. Rutilius, that rich Roman, coming upon a time at Rome to Musonius the philosopher, said unto him thus in his ear: Musonius, Jupiter surnamed Saviour, whom you and such other philosophers as you are, make profession to imitate and follow, taketh up no money at interest: but Musonius, smiling again, returned him this present answer: No more doth he put forth any money for use.

Now this Rutilius, who was an usurer, reproached the other for taking money at interest, which was a foolish arrogant humour of a Stoic: for what need hadst thou, Rutilius, to meddle with Jupiter Saviour, and allege his name, considering that a man may report the selfsame by those very things which are familiar and apparent? The swallows are not in the usurer's book, the pismires pay not for use of money, and yet to them hath not nature given either hands or reason, or any art and mystery; whereas she hath endued man with such abundance of understanding, and aptness to learn and practise, that he can skill not only to nourish himself, but also to keep horses, hounds, partridges, hares, and jays: why dost thou then disable and condemn thyself, as if thou wert less docible and sensible than a jay, more mute than a partridge, more idle than a dog, in that thou canst make no means to have good of a man, neither by double diligence, by making court, by observance and service, nor by maintaining his quarrel and entering into combat in his defence? seest thou not how the earth doth bring forth many things, and how the sea affordeth as many for the use of man? And verily as Crates saith:

> I saw myself how Mycilus wool did card,
> And how with him his wife the rolls did spin:
> Thus during war when times were extreme hard,
> Both jointly wrought, to keep them from famine.

King Antigonus, when he had not of a long time seen Cleanthes the philosopher, meeting him one day in Athens, spake unto him and said: How now, Cleanthes, dost thou grind at the

mill and turn the quern-stone still? Yea, sir (quoth Cleanthes again), I grind yet, and I do it for to earn my living; howbeit, for all that, I give not over my profession of philosophy. O the admirable courage and high spirit of this man, who coming from the mill, with that very hand which turned about the stone, ground the meal and kneaded the dough, wrote of the nature of the gods, of the moon, of the stars and the sun! But we do think all these to be base and servile works; and yet verily, because we would be free (God wot), we care not to thrust ourselves into debt, we pay for the use of money, we flatter vile and base persons, we give them presents, we invite and feast them, we yield (as it were) tribute underhand unto them; and this we do not in regard of poverty (for no man useth to put forth his money into a poor man's hand), but even upon a superfluity and riotous expense of our own: for if we could content ourselves with those things that are necessary for the life of man, there would not be an usurer in the world, no more than there are centaurs and monstrous gorgons. But excess it is and daintiness which hath engendered usurers; like as the same hath bred goldsmiths, silversmiths, confectioners, perfumers, and dyers of gallant colours. We come not in debt to bakers and vintners for our bread and wine; but we owe rather for the price and purchase of fair houses and lands, for a great number and retinue of slaves, of fine mules, of trim halls and dining chambers, of rich tables and the costly furniture belonging thereto, besides other foolish and excessive expenses which we oftentimes are at, when we exhibit plays and solemn pastimes into whole cities for to gratify and do pleasure unto the people; and that upon a vain ambition and desire of popular favour; and many times we receive no other fruit of all our cost and labour but ingratitude.

Now he that is once enwrapped in debt remaineth a debtor still all the days of his life; and he fareth like to an horse, who after he hath once received the bit into his mouth, changeth his rider eftsoons, and is never unridden, but one or other is always on his back. No way and means there is to avoid from thence, and to recover those fair pastures and pleasant meadows out of which those indebted persons are turned; but they wander astray to and fro, like to those cursed fiends and malign spirits whom Empedocles writeth to have been driven by the gods out of heaven:

> For such the heavenly power first chas'd down to the sea beneath;
> The sea again up to the earth did cast them by and by;
> Then afterwards, the earth them did unto the beams bequeath
> Of restless sun, and they at last sent them to starry sky.

Thus fall they into the hands of usurers or bankers, one after another; now of a Corinthian, then of a Patrian, and after of an Athenian;[1] so long, until when all of them have had a fling at him, he become in the end wasted, eaten out and consumed with usury upon usury, for like as he that is stepped into a quagmire must either at first get forth of it, or else continue still there and not remove at all out of one place; for he that striveth, turneth and windeth every way, not only doth wet and drench his body, but mireth it all over and bewrayeth himself more than he was at first with filthy dirt; even so they that do nothing but change one bank for another, making a transcript of their name out of one usurer's book into another's, loading their shoulders eftsoons with new and fresh usuries, become always overcharged more and more; and they resemble for all the world those persons who are diseased with the choleric passion or flux, who will not admit of any perfect cure to purge it at once, but continually taking away a certain portion of the humour, make room for more and more still, to gather and engender in the place; for even so these are not willing to be rid and cleansed at once, but with dolour, grief, and anguish pay usury every season and quarter of the year; and no sooner have they discharged one, but another distilleth and runneth down after it, which gathereth to an head; and so by that means they are grieved with the heartache and pain of the head; whereas it behoved that they should make quick dispatch, and give order to be clear and free once for all; for now I direct my speech unto those of the better sort, who have wherewith above their fellows, and yet be nicer than they should be; and those commonly come in with such-like words and excuses as these: How then; would you have me unfurnished of slaves and servants? to live without fire, without an house and abiding-place? which is all one as if he that were in a dropsy and swollen as big as a tun, should say unto a physician; What will you do? would you have me to be lean, lank, spare-bodied and empty; and why not? or what shouldest not thou be contented to be, so thou mayest recover thy health and be whole again? and even so may it be said unto thee? Better it were for to be without slaves than to be a slave thyself; and to remain without heritage and possession, that thou mayest not be possessed by another.

Hearken a little to the talk that was between two geirs or vultures as the tale goes; when one of them disgorged so strongly that he said withal; I think verily that I shall cast up my very

[1] Or Corinthian again.

bowels: the other being by, answered in this wise: What harm will come of thy vomiting so long as thou shalt not cast up thine own entrails, but those only of some dead prey which we tare and devoured together but the other day; semblably every one that is indebted selleth not his own land, nor his own house; but indeed the usurer's house and land of whom he hath taken money for interest, considering that by the law the debtor hath made him lord of him and all. Yea, marry, will he say anon; but my father hath left me this piece of land for mine inheritance: I wot well and believe it; so hath thy father left unto thee freedom, good name, and reputation, whereof thou oughtest to make much more account than of land and living. He that begat thee made thy hand and thy foot; and yet if it chance that one of them be mortified, he will give a good fee or a reward to a chirurgeon for to cut it off. Lady Calypso clad Ulysses with a vesture and robe scenting sweet like balm, yielding an odour of a body immortal, which she presented unto him as a gift and memorial of the love that she bare unto him; and this he did wear for her sake; but after that he suffered shipwreck and was ready to sink, being hardly able to float above water, by reason that the said robe was all drenched and so heavy that it held him down, he did it off and threw it away; and then girding his naked breast underneath with a certain broad fillet or swaddling band, he saved himself by swimming, and recovered the bank: now when he was past this danger and seemed to be landed, he seemed to want neither raiment nor nutriment: and what say you to this? may not this be counted a very tempest, whenas the usurer after a certain time shall come to assail the poor debtors and say unto them: Pay:

> Which word once said, therewith the clouds above,
> He gathereth thick, and sea with waves doth move:
> For why? the winds anon at once from east,
> From south, from west, do blow and give no rest.

And what be these winds and waves? even usuries upon usuries, puffing, blowing, and rolling one after another; and he that is overwhelmed therewith and kept under with their heavy weight, is not able to swim forth and escape, but in the end is driven down and sinketh to the very bottom, where he is drowned and perished together with his friends, who entered into bonds and became sureties and pledges for him.

Crates, the philosopher of Thebes, therefore did very well, who being in danger and debt to no man, only wearied with the cares and troubles of housekeeping, and the pensive thoughts

how to hold his own, left all and gave over his estate and patrimony, which amounted to the value of eight talents, took himself to his bag and wallet, to his simple robe and cloak of coarse cloth, and fled into the sanctuary and liberties of philosophy and poverty. As for Anaxagoras, he forsook his fair lands and plenteous pastures: but what need I to allege these examples? considering that Philoxenus the musician, being sent with other to people and possess a new colony in Sicily, and having befallen to his lot a goodly house and living to it, enjoying (I say) for his part a good portion wherewith he might have lived in fulness and plenty; when he saw once that delights, pleasures and idleness without any exercise at all of good letters reigned in those parts; *Pardie* (quoth he), these goods here shall never spoil and undo me, but I will rather (I trow) make a hand and havoc of them; leaving therefore unto others his portion that fell unto him by lot, he took sea again and sailed away to Athens. Contrariwise, those that be in debt are evermore sued in the law, become tributaries and very slaves, bearing and enduring all indignities, like unto those varlets that dig in silver mines, nourishing and maintaining as Phineus did the ravenous winged harpies: for surely these usurers always fly upon them, and be ready to snatch and carry away their very food and sustenance; neither have they patience to stay and attend times and seasons; for they buy up their debtor's corn before it be ripe for the harvest; they make their markets of oil before the olives fall from the tree, and likewise of wine: For I will have it at this price (quoth the usurer); and withal the debtor giveth him presently a bill of his hand for such a bargain; meanwhile the grapes hang still upon the vine, waiting for the month of September, when the star Arcturus riseth and sheweth the time of vintage.

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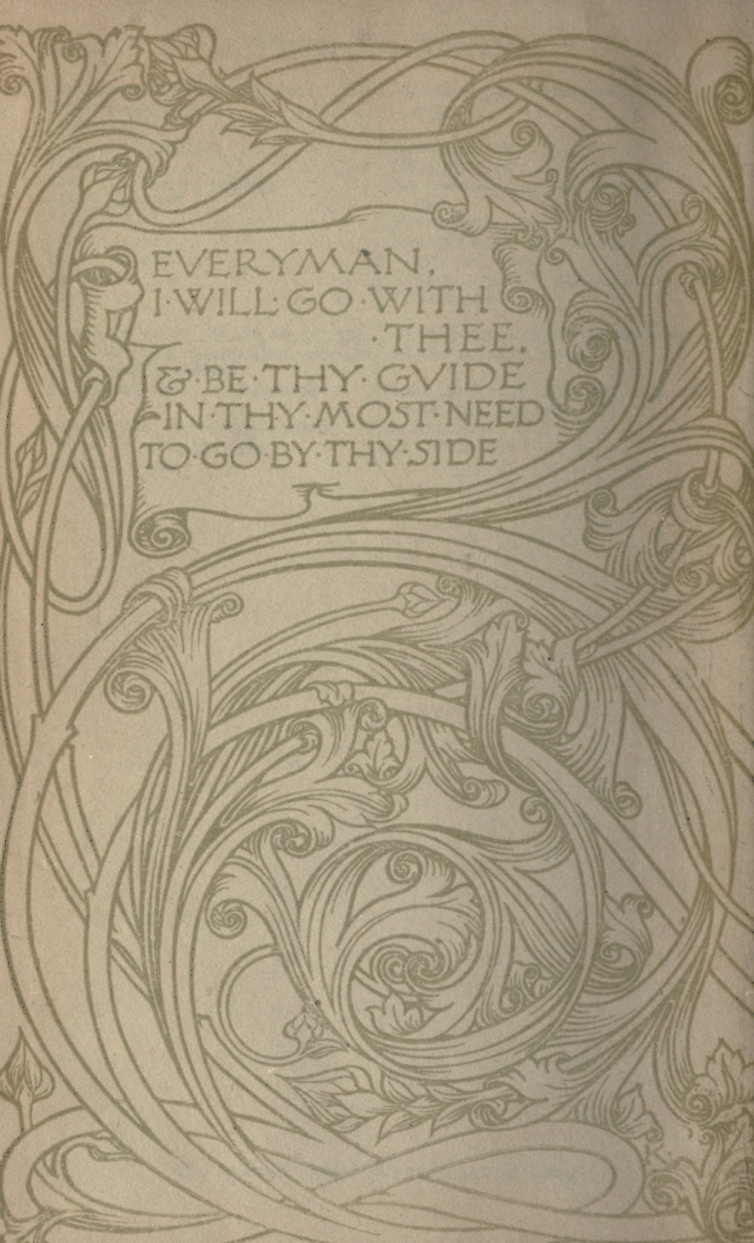
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